

THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—PHILOSOPHY OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

1. *Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart.*, by O. W. Wight. New-York: 1855.
2. *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*, by Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Second edition. London and Edinburgh: 1853.
3. *Sir William Hamilton and his Philosophy*, from the Princeton Review.

THE Princeton Reviewer, who has won an eminent reputation by his perspicuous appreciation of the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, has postponed the consideration of that philosopher's logical views to the estimate of his metaphysical system. So far as we venture upon the examination of the former, we shall take the liberty of reversing this order, because logic precedes metaphysics in a methodical classification of the sciences,* if the two are dissevered; and because this course appears to us most convenient in the study of Sir William's doctrine.

That his Logic and Metaphysics interacted upon each other, is evident from a comparison of their correspondences. This intercommunion of influences must have attended the whole process of his intellectual evolution, so that it would be impossible for us, and might have been difficult for himself, to decide which department of philosophy earliest received its definite constitution at his hands, if either can be called definite, when both were left undeveloped and incomplete. There was, undoubtedly, a continuous flow of ascending and descending currents passing, like the imperceptible streams of electricity, from the one to the other, and maintaining equilibrium in their expansion. His favorite dogma of the thorough-going

* Leibnitz, *Præf. ad Mar. Nizolium*, § iv. David, *Interp. x. Categ. Schol. Aristot.*, p. 26 a 33, and p. 26, b 1-4. Ampère, *Classif. des Sciences*, vol. ii, chap. i, § 1, pp. 9-18. In Sir William Hamilton's *Alphabet of Thought*, the elements of logic precede those of metaphysics. The *Introduction to Kant's Logic* may be consulted.

quantification of the predicate was produced after the promulgation of his theory of the conditioned,* and we suspect that the later tenet was, in some measure, suggested by the earlier. But we are very imperfectly informed of the precise steps which led to the adoption of either.

To prevent misapprehension, however, we must state, notwithstanding the hazard of the statement, that we do not concur with Sir William Hamilton, and other great logicians, in drawing a precise line of demarcation between Logic and Metaphysics. We adhere to the pristine procedure of the founder and legislator of logical science, at any rate until Aristotle has been more thoroughly understood, and his errors more conclusively demonstrated than has yet been done. Persius, or Perianus, an assailant of the Peripatetic school, first proclaimed in express terms the tenet which required such a sanctimonious separation in the theses proposed as a challenge to the doctors of Padua, in 1575.† That the formal laws of thought employed in the process of reasoning constitute the subject-matter of logical science, had been more or less distinctly held by orthodox logicians from the days of Aristotle downward.‡ But it appears to us impossible to arrive at the discovery of those laws, without investigating the essential character of thought, the capacities of the mind especially employed in ratiocination, the constitution of language, and the significance of terms. Persius consistently excluded the last two branches, by relegating the proverbially difficult Hermeneutics of Aristotle to the domain of grammar. If we rightly apprehend Sir William, he would scarcely have assented to this mutilation.§ Logic may, it is true, borrow from Metaphysics the conclusions which may serve as its premises; and such is the procedure advocated by the very respectable modern sect of the separatists. But, from this dangerous obligation, it results that Logic will be at the mercy of all the fluctuations of philosophy, without being able to control them, in the absence of any legitimate jurisdiction, and that it must renounce its high prerogative of being the queen of the sciences, *regina scientiarum*; a prerogative essential to the avail-

* "Were it necessary, abundant evidence might be at once obtained to prove that Sir William Hamilton taught his new doctrine (the New Analytic) five years earlier than the above date," (1845, 1846.) Baynes, Pref., p. viii. Sir William gives a more precise indication of the time, assigning to 1840 the formal enunciation of the doctrine, and to 1833 the conviction of its necessity, though its original conception is implied to have been earlier. Discuss., Appendix II, Logical (A.,) p. 650, vide p. 162. The theory of the conditioned was propounded in the Edinburgh Review in October, 1829.

† St. Hilaire, *De la Logique d'Aristote*, § 3, ch. xii, vol. ii, pp. 257, 258.

‡ Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 138, 139.

§ Ibid., p. 137, note.

able exercise of its natural functions. The practical purpose of Logic is to expose and prevent false reasoning, to overthrow and confute sophistry. Such was the design contemplated by Aristotle in its original constitution; such the end proposed by Socrates and Plato in their imperfect tentatives. This is the evidence of the history of philosophy; and the historical testimony cannot be prudently disregarded in the settlement of this question. For, descending to later times, we find that the fortunes of Logic have waxed and waned with the mutations of metaphysical opinion; that the reformation of philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occasioned a gradually increasing neglect of logical studies; that that reformation commenced by a rebellion, more or less acrimonious and complete, against logical restraints; that the Ramists and many of the Cartesians, including John Milton among the former, frittered away the substance of the science, till it was regarded as a toy, as an ingenious intellectual puzzle, by the philosophers of Port Royal,* and at last pronounced by the historian, the eulogist, the translator, and in some degree the resuscitator of the *Organon*, to be a mere exercise of reflections.† While such has been its fate among its professed friends, Logic has fared still worse at the hands of its enemies. It has been condemned, mutilated, travestied, cashiered, by all the cohorts who pretended to follow in the footsteps of Bacon, and enlisted under the banner of Locke. A general repudiation of its claims, an utter ignorance of its character, have been the result. It became an occult and unknown science in the British isles,‡ and very generally on the continent of Europe, lingering out a doubtful existence in the Catholic schools and ancient universities. It was delivered over in Britain to the mockeries of Watts, to the insult of Reid's expository abridgment of the *Organon*, to the unintelligent sneers of Dugald Stewart. This was a natural consequence of attempting too rigid a demarcation between Logic and Metaphysics. It introduced a distinction of which the negligent and the impatient gladly availed themselves to ignore an arduous study. It, moreover, sanctioned an unwarrantable subordination which invited contempt, and inflicted ruin on the dethroned majesty.

We cheerfully acquiesce in the imposition of the most rigid restrictions on the doctrine of the syllogism, and its immediate dependencies; but we can neither assent to the exclusion of fallacies, material as well as formal, nor renounce those introductory investigations which prepare the theory of demonstration. The syllogism consists of propositions, the proposition of terms.

* St. Hilaire, *Logique d'Aristote.*, Pref, vol i, pp. cxxxiv-vi.

† *Ibid.* pp. xli, xlvii. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. c. li; cf. Hamilton, *Discuss.*, pp. 119-128.

The ideas expressed by names or terms must be analyzed in order to discover their nature, import, and essential differences. We must push our inquiries beyond the proposition and the name, if we would not leave Logic with no higher purpose than was assigned to it by the Port Royalists. The whole of Sir William Hamilton's doctrine of the quantification of the predicate, and of the distinction between the quantities of breadth and depth, revolves around the notions of genus, species, and difference. His fundamental postulate, "that we be allowed to state in language what is contained in thought,"* necessitates an examination into the contents, character, and limitations of ideas. Their classification for the purpose of arriving at adequacy of conception and accuracy of predication, introduces us to the categories, and with the categories we stretch out into the sea of Metaphysics.

We deem it, then, more judicious not to separate Logic entirely from Metaphysics; and in this course, we are sustained by the example, if not by the precepts of Aristotle,† by the procedure of the great schoolmen and of Hegel; by the tenor of Kant's remarks;‡ and by the involuntary procedure of Sir William Hamilton himself. It seems, at any rate, a wiser plan for the present than to pursue the inapprehensible phantom of an imaginary purism, till it leads us through difficulties and perplexities to the rejection of all the treatises of the Organon of Aristotle from the domain of Logic; a result to which Sir William Hamilton was hastening.§ With Leibnitz, and Kant, and Hegel, we are content to take the Logic of Aristotle as it came from the hands of its author, in all its essential characteristics. We think this reverential spirit more consonant with the interests of true science than the captiousness of Sir William.|| And we think also, that, notwithstanding his own valuable labors, and those of M. St. Hilaire, and the still more valuable commentaries of recent German scholars, the observation of Hegel is still appropriate, that "the treasures of Aristotle are as little known as they are precious." The study of Logic has but lately been revived; before we attempt to legislate afresh on the subject, let us learn; before we censure Aristotle, let us be very certain that we understand him. That the latter requirement has not been always fulfilled by Sir William Hamilton is manifest from his criticism on Aristotle's views of the functions and character of Induction.

* Baynes, *New Analytic*, p. 4. Hamilton, *Discuss.*, p. 650.

† Vide St. Hilaire, *De la Log. d'Aristote*, II Partie, § 2, vol. ii, pp. 27, 28. III Partie, § 1, vol. ii, pp. 115, 116.

‡ In the Introduction to his *Logic*.

§ St. Hilaire, *Log. d'Aristote*, Pref., vol. i, p. xx.

|| *Ibid.*, Pref., vol. i, p. cxlii. Sed v. *Discuss.*, p. 142, note.

A false philosophy presupposes fallacy in its premises or in its deductions; it inevitably generates fallacy and sophistry in the reasonings of those by whom it is accepted. In either case, redress must be sought by a recurrence to logical accuracy, which alone might have prevented the occurrence of the danger. The neglect, the abandonment, the misapprehension of the conditions of correct reasoning preceded the rise of the error; but the error once disseminated, infects the canon by which its presence should be detected and exposed. Hence it becomes necessary to revise the canon, and to extirpate the weeds entwined with it, before hoping to reform permanently the mistaken philosophy, or to eradicate the evils engendered by it. In undertaking this revision, it is too common a practice to deem that the canon itself requires alteration instead of elucidation, and reconstruction instead of rectification. To this tendency Sir William Hamilton has yielded in his avidity for innovation; but, even in his search for novelty, he retains his hold on the great principles confirmed by the prestige of a long antiquity, with the tenacity characteristic of a superior intelligence; humbling himself before the great authority of successive centuries, and exercising his own independence only in subordination to the accumulated wisdom of his illustrious predecessors.

In the criticisms to be hazarded by us on his logical doctrines, we are conscious of great liability to error and misapprehension. Our judgment we acknowledge to be neither fully informed, nor definitely settled; and in the absence of the Lectures on Logic to his class in the University of Edinburgh, much remains suspicious, which might win acquiescence if sufficiently explained.

The thorough-going quantification of the predicate, a peculiarly cumbrous and awkward designation, is the most characteristic and extensive of Sir William's innovations in Logic. This innovation was, perhaps, rendered inevitable by the general tone of his philosophical opinions.

To insure the conclusiveness of any course of demonstration, the cogency of any single inference, there must be agreement in regard to the premises. The terms must not be used by the one side in a larger, by the other in a narrower signification; nor must they be left so indeterminate as to admit of the contraction or expansion of their meaning. The agreement must be complete and permanent, not in language merely, but in thought. Precautionary measures are required to guard against a danger more frequently incurred than is readily supposed. It is common in the philosophical writings of late generations. It is the constant blunder of Hume; it is not absent even from the critique of the Pure Reason of Kant. This

fruitful source of error must be closed, and no device required for the purpose can be too rigid; only it must be required, and it should be effectual.

In accordance with this conviction, Sir William Hamilton has deemed it expedient to introduce more stringent limitations into the formal enunciation of the members of the syllogism than had been deemed indispensable before. The precise restriction of the predicate was, indeed, peculiarly incumbent on a philosophy which recognized only conditional knowledge. To Aristotle, to the Schoolmen, to those who admitted the possibility of an imperfect knowledge beyond the compass of formal science, beyond the reach of definitions, and of definite conditions,* who admitted, indeed, that all knowledge partook of this imperfection, it might be sufficient to limit the special subject of discourse, without being equally solicitous of limiting the extent to which the attributes of that subject were exhausted by being applied to it. To them the attempt might seem superfluous; perhaps they recognized that it was hazardous, and that it imposed a limitation in language on the forms of thought which was foreign to the spontaneous habits of the intellect.† Hence, they rejected the doctrine propounded by the New Analytic, not rashly, nor incognizantly, but from a consideration of its impropriety. The precision desired virtually seeks to limit the unlimited, to measure the unmeasurable, to gauge the abstract and indefinite, to make straight that which is crooked, and to number that which is wanting. Thus, it compels us, by a curious but common relapse, to fall back into errors and dangers similar to those apprehended from systems of the absolute and the unconditioned.

There was a maxim among the Schoolmen, sufficient to answer all the really important purposes contemplated by the habitual quantification of the predicate: "*Prædicata tenentur formaliter, et subjecta materialiter.*"‡

A much more signal service is rendered by giving renewed prominence to a wide but delicate distinction between the extension and comprehension of quantity. The distinction is ancient, but had fallen into general oblivion, with the other precepts of logic.

In the process of definition, and of division, and of discovery, or of hunting for middle terms, according to the language of Aristotle,

* Aristot., *Analyt. Post.*, lib. II, ch. xix; *Metaph.*, vi, xv; III, III, et Schol., p. 650, pp. 19, 20.

† This is denied, of course, by Hamilton, *Discuss.*, pp. 650, 685, and by his disciple, Baynes, pp. 4-13. Their position establishes an undesirable affinity with the dogmas of Hume.

‡ S. Thomæ Aquin., *Summa Theolog.*, Ps. I, Qu. xiii, Art. 12.

the procedure is either from the particular to the general, or from the general to the particular; not indifferently, but in compliance with the requirements of the case. The general is the genus, or universal, the whole, if we regard species; the particular is the species, or in the ultimate reduction, the individual; the whole, if we regard properties. Extension, therefore, relates to generic simplicity; comprehension to specific variety. The former, in its highest manifestation, is the *genus generalissimum*; the latter the *species specialissima*, or the individual. The individual is a congeries of properties; the genus, the residuum of abstractions. The individual is a whole, really existing, and incapable of division logically into subordinate parts, but it is separable from all other things by multitudinous differences. The genus is a mere creation of the mind, a logical artifice,* having no existence except in the individuals contained under it; but divisible into species or individuals by the addition of specific differences. Thus, in ascending the scale of generalization, properties diminish, and species become wider, till we arrive at the *sumum genus*, or substance, whose property and essence are one and identical, but which includes under it the intelligible and material creation, all species, all forms, all realities, extending on all sides to embrace everything within the entire sphere of the universe. In descending the same scale, properties are successively added, and the range of species is contracted, till we reach the lowest round, and find in the individual the largest association of coëxistent properties, the comprehension of all the successions of specific differences.

Totality in extension or breadth, and totality in comprehension or depth, are sufficiently contrasted. The former is employed in the process of deduction; the latter in that of induction.† The two methods are thus reciprocally inverse; and by establishing their correlations, the analogies and differences of both are revealed, and they may be reduced to a common type.

It is scarcely legitimate, however, to conclude from this contrast, that deduction is dependent upon induction.‡ It is still worse to fall into the blunder of Mill, and to regard all reasoning as essentially inductive.§ It would be much more appropriate to consider induction as dependent upon deduction, as there is a general postulate latent behind every induction, which gives to it its validity,

* Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 161-701. Princeton Reviewer, p. 37. A curious and profound exemplification of this point may be found in Proudhon's *Analysis of Seriation, Creation de l'Ordre*, ch. iii, § 4, pp. 142-166.

† Hamilton, Discuss., p. 161.

‡ Ibid., p. 162.

§ Mill, *Logic*, b. II, ch. iii, pp. 122-137.

namely, that the operations of nature are uniform, and that multiplied correspondences indicate the universality of a law.* Neither statement would be entirely correct. Deduction and induction are rather interdependent than the one habitually dependent upon the other. The first principles of knowledge, the *immediate* principles of philosophy, that is to say, those which are accredited without the intervention of a middle term, which are intuitive, indemonstrable, axiomatic, or which constitute fundamental beliefs, are not reached by induction, are obviously not obtained by deduction. They furnish the foundations for deductions and inductions, but are anterior to either; they are known without learning and without investigation.† This is the doctrine of Aristotle.

Sir William Hamilton has accurately discriminated the diverse significations in which the equivocal phrase, Induction, has been habitually, and often incognizantly employed. By so doing, he has extricated the formal process of induction from the adventitious notions implicated with it, and been enabled to exhibit the relations and correspondences of the inductive and deductive syllogism, and to introduce the former, as well as the latter, into the sphere of strict logic. But, in doing this, he has rather corrected modern errors, and elucidated the conceptions of Aristotle, than made any original addition to the science. The value of these elucidations and the importance of returning to the grand and comprehensive views of the "prince of philosophers," cannot be overrated, but may be readily misapprehended; and, we think, Sir William's jealousy of Aristotle is calculated to encourage such misapprehension, and to conceal the present and permanent utility of the Aristotelian treatises. Another evil effect is produced. The intrinsic analogies between the philosophy of Sir William and that of Aristotle are neither indicated nor suspected; the differences, too, are unnoticed, but these differences reveal the most important defects of the philosophy of the conditioned, and, in our estimation, evince the superior accuracy and profundity of the peripatetic system. We are not partisans of a retrograde policy in any department of thought or action. We would not go back to an age that has been buried for more than twenty centuries. We do not forget what Aristotle has taught us;‡ what was announced by Roger Bacon even in the supposed darkness of the scholastic ages, *posteriores priorum dicta currexerunt*.§ So far as we would recur to the wisdom of Aristotle,

* A somewhat similar criticism is made by the Princeton Reviewer, p. 45.

† *ἓνα γὰρ ἴσμεν οὐτε μαθόντες οὐτε ζητήσαντες.* Alex. Aphr., Schol., Aristot., p. 650, b. 19.

‡ Metaph. I. Min., p. 993, b. 11.

§ Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. vi, p. 8.

we would adapt it to the present times by availing ourselves of all subsequent discovery; and we would often repair to Sir William Hamilton for illumination and guidance; but we would not renounce an ancient creed for the sake merely of accepting a modern fashion.

Had Sir William's life been spared, had his systematic labors been earlier commenced, or more continuously pursued, or had his health permitted more rapid progress in the exposition of his views, the advantages to be expected from his endeavors to develop and methodize the theory of induction would have been much more apparent. He had undertaken the most difficult part of the task required to establish harmony between the Baconian and Aristotelian systems, or rather to unite them into one homogeneous system. This union is peculiarly demanded in our time. As long as induction wages a perverse war upon deduction in consequence of an imaginary antipathy; as long as physical are at variance with ethical speculations, and seek to absorb them; as long as men of science oppose themselves to philosophers, the intellectual anarchy now prevalent must continue.

Sed hoc jam breve ex dialectica libamentum. We must pass from Sir William Hamilton's Logic to the examination of his philosophy of the conditioned. As this is the most significant portion of his labors, it demands our chief attention, and its claims cannot be any longer delayed.

Sir William has reduced the whole doctrine of M. Cousin to a single proposition, in his refutation of it.* The same course may be pursued in the appreciation of his own theory. The possibility of the cognition of the Unconditioned, the Absolute, and the Infinite, was the thesis of the French philosopher. The impossibility of such cognition is the characteristic tenet of his Scotch antagonist. All the other metaphysical positions of Sir William Hamilton may be treated in subordination to this; as consequences direct or indirect, or as prerequisites implied in its conception. Victor Cousin's scheme of eclecticism, which attempted, with brilliant effect and with sanguine anticipations, to naturalize Rationalism on the soil of France, and to establish its supreme dominion over the whole realm of thought, has now lost its prestige in its own country. But the first effectual blow, in the domain of Metaphysics, was struck by Sir William Hamilton's profound and trenchant criticism in the Edinburgh Review. His singular perspicacity was manifested by his detection at that early day of the pantheistic character and atheistic tendencies of the scheme, then in the full bloom of its

* Hamilton, Discuss., p. 12. Wight, p. 453.

splendor, and welcomed with enthusiastic rapture by multitudinous admirers.

The essential character of the German or Rationalistic philosophy, dressed out by Victor Cousin in the Parisian fashion, under the attractive but inappropriate designation of eclectic, was the assertion of the exclusive and self-sufficient authority of human reason. Placing the sun and moon, and all the visible universe, beneath its feet, it boldly ascended into the airy and empyrean heights of speculation; it renounced the mutable and transient shapes of the phenomenal world with the design of grasping the imperishable and unchanging essence of the permanent reality and the everlasting wisdom. It was an ancient, and often renovated dream, which returned to haunt the minds of men inebriated by contemplating the vast, and varied, and marvelous faculties of humanity, till the sense of humanity was forgotten in the admiration of its powers, and the consciousness of a finite nature was lost in the anxious aspiration for escape from its fetters. Like the dew in the sunshine, the vapor of earth was absorbed in the illumination of heaven, and was vainly supposed to be identified with the supernal light with which it became undistinguishably commingled.

The knowledge and the existence superior to the limitations imposed upon a restricted order of intelligence have been customarily designated the Absolute and the Infinite, from the difficulty of finding more precise terms to denote what language can only imperfectly express. Usually, the Absolute and the Infinite have been regarded as identical in purport; but Sir William Hamilton has discovered or invented a distinction between them, and treated them as separate species contained under the supreme genus of the Unconditioned. This reduction, and the name assigned to the ultimate genus of the abstract and indifferential, determines the character and has furnished the name of the contrasted type of speculation. Thus the philosophy of the Conditioned springs from the negation of the Unconditioned, and borrows its appellation from the repudiation of its adversary. As the one maintained the possibility and the fact of an intellectual ascension, subject to no restrictions, alloyed by no uncertainties, limited by no conditions; the other denied this possibility, and maintained that all human knowledge was subject to conditions and limits imposed by the finite nature of man.

In this great controversy, propagated from the first dawn of metaphysical inquiry, we attach ourselves firmly and unhesitatingly to the side of Sir William Hamilton. We have as little partiality for the designation of his creed, as for the grotesque language and cramped formularies in which it is expounded. But, in regard to

the fundamental problem involved, he is unquestionably in the right, and we would cheerfully and humbly profess ourselves his admiring disciple, if we did not think that he had only revived an ancient doctrine, and sometimes compromised it by his mode of development.

The theory of the Unconditioned requires, either that a finite creature should be endowed with an infinite intelligence, or that a finite intelligence should be capable of infinite knowledge. The statement of the conditions of the thesis might seem to furnish a complete refutation. But the plain terms of the hypothesis are soon forgotten in the recondite investigations of philosophers. If the former of the *postulanda* specified be adopted, it is only conceivable by admitting the identification of all knowledge and existence, of the Creator and the creation, of God and the universe. If the latter be accepted, the promise of the serpent to Eve is indeed accomplished; but, instead of elevating man to the height of divinity, it degrades the divine nature to the scale of humanity. Practically, the consequence is inevitable; theoretically, it may not become directly apparent. In either case, man is recognized as the sole measure of the intelligent and intelligible; and the compass of the human intelligence describes the complete orbit of knowledge and being. The difference between the two tenets is simply a difference of direction: the one attempts to sublimate man into a god, the other reduces the godhead to humanity:

"She raised a mortal to the skies;
He drew an angel down."

The distinction indicated may, perhaps, be found to correspond in some respects with Sir William Hamilton's somewhat arbitrary discrimination between the Infinite and the Absolute. According to him, the Infinite denotes the unconditionally unlimited; the Absolute the unconditionally limited.* These are certainly different and contrasted ideas. But it is scarcely a prudent or correct procedure to attach these different significations to two terms, which have been frequently, not to say habitually, employed as equivalent in sense.† This inoculation of a novel technical discrimination on a confirmed confusion certainly gives to the sophistical objections of Calderwood the only plausibility that appertains to his polemic on this point.

If the capacity of the human mind is limited, as, with Sir William

* Hamilton, *Discuss.*, p. 13. Wight, p. 454.

† There may be some indications of the Hamiltonian use of the Absolute, in Leibnitz, *Nouv. Ess. sur l'Entendement Humain*, No. II, ch. xiv, vol. i, p. 165. Ep. ad R. P. Des Bosses, tom. II, Ps. i, p. 267, ed. Dutens. Perhaps, also, in Spinoza, *Ethique*.

Hamilton and the majority of philosophers, we conceive it to be, the Unconditioned is incognizable in all its forms. Whether, then, we assume the Absolute and the Infinite to be identical or contrasted, their appreciation is impossible except as the negation of what is and can be known; in other words, their positive conception is impossible.

This position has provoked more opposition than any other part of the Hamiltonian philosophy, utterly without reason. The hostility has proceeded, and can only proceed on the part of those who are not pantheists or atheists in speculation, on an entire misconception of the doctrine assailed.

The question simply stated amounts to this: Can we entertain any knowledge of the Infinite, otherwise than as a negation of the Finite? Sir William Hamilton says, we cannot. Those whom he opposes, and those by whom he has been opposed, say, we can. Philosophers of the most divergent opinions, pantheists on one side, and earnest, but not very perspicacious Christians on the other, are conjoined in a strange and ominous union. Disregarding Sir William's demonstration as neither sufficiently lucid nor altogether satisfactory, we remark that the first principle of division, the great law of contradiction, compels the distribution of ideas into two grand classes, of which the one serves primarily and mainly to exclude the other. The knowledge of contraries is one.* There is an essential dualism in the apprehension of ideas,† rendering impossible their conception without the simultaneous conception of their negation. The Finite becomes known through the employment of our senses, and assumes definite shape by the exercise of experience and reflection. But by the same act of the mind by which the Finite is apprehended as Finite, the Infinite is apprehended as the negation of the Finite. The limits of the Finite may remain undefined or undefinable; but it still represents that which is recognized as having limits; the idea of the Infinite is shadowy and indistinct, but it clearly expresses that which does not admit of cognizable limitation. By no ingenuity of fancy, by no artifice of language, by no circumlocution can we denote the Infinite without employing negatives, and nothing but negatives, for the purpose.

The canon of Excluded Middle compels us to receive as complete the division of the Finite and the Infinite.‡ Everything is included

* Magentini Schol. cit. Waitz. *Aristot. Org.*, vol. i, p. 30. So Hamilton, *Discuss.*, p. 28. Wight, p. 471.

† *Aristot.*, *Metaph.*, III, II, p. 1004, b. 27; vi, vii, p. 1032, b. 3; viii, I, p. 1046, a. 29, and *Scholia ad locos*.

‡ Sir William Hamilton (*Discuss.*, p. 15; Wight, p. 467) similarly applies the law of Excluded Middle to the supposed contradiction of the Absolute and the

under the one or the other of these terms. That which is not Finite is Infinite; that which is not Infinite is Finite. But to produce this consequence, the division must be received in its purity and in its totality. The Finite may be indefinite, or the indefinite may be itself received as the negation of the Finite.* That is to say, the indefinite may be employed in two significations essentially distinct, either as denoting that which is Finite, but without determinate limits, or as denoting that which is regarded as incapable of limitation, and therefore exclusive of limits. The vagueness of this term indefinite has been instrumental in occasioning confused and inaccurate ideas of the Infinite; for, according to the mode of its employment, it falls under the category of the Finite or the Infinite. It is to be observed, that, in its wider sense, while denying the notion of limitation, it conveys the positive idea of something more than the Finite, but leaves, of course, the degree and mode of that excess, altogether without restriction. In this sense, we consider it to signify all that can be expressed by the more imposing term, the Infinite. The very fact, however, that the human mind is able to conceive such an excess, demonstrates the inherence of a vague faculty conscious of a domain, real or intelligible, beyond its reach, and capable of untiring aspirations, however vain, toward its definite apprehension.

Thus, whatever be the real or imagined limits of human apprehension or comprehension, whatever be the conditions imposed upon thought as a self-conscious, self-evolving, reflecting instrument, there is present to the mind a vivid sense of an ampler sphere beyond, in which it cannot expatiate in the absence of a superhuman elevation of its powers.† The vitality of animate nature is destroyed by the extreme rarefaction of the air before the limits of the mundane atmosphere are reached; but the sun, and moon, and heavenly bodies far beyond, necessitate the confident recognition of a space, filled with an unknown ether, or void of material contents, encompassing the liquid covering of our terrestrial globe. So to the eye of faith, to the instinctive appetencies of the human intelligence, is revealed a boundless, unfathomable universe. Fancies, irresistible yearnings of our rational nature, extend themselves beyond the boundaries of Infinite, and deduces the same conclusion that we do, herein nearly identifying himself with Kant.

* Hence Leibnitz, *Nouv. Ep.*, liv. II, ch. 13, vol. i, p. 161. "M. Des Cartes et ses sectateurs ont changé le terme d'infini en indéfini avec quelque raison."

† We think this doctrine is implied by Aristot., *Phys. Ausc.*, III, c. vii, in the assertion that the Infinite does not contain the Finite, but is contained in it. There is much ambiguity, however, in the expression.

the Finite and the cognizable. The wildly wandering mind, *spirto doglioso errante*, seeks to attach itself to some firm reality in the vast and ever-yielding expanse; but it returns back upon itself, frustrated, exhausted, disappointed, like the raven sent forth from the ark, having found neither dry place nor firm ground as a resting place for the sole of its foot.

This capacity and disposition to transcend the Finite in thought have not been overlooked by Sir William Hamilton. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether the recognition of a reality beyond the realm of the Finite is not impaired, if not prevented, by representing the Conditioned, assumed as the equivalent of thought, as the mean between the two incognizable extremes of the Infinite and the Absolute. To this cause may be ascribed the purely negative character of the Hamiltonian philosophy. It may also be doubted whether there is a strict contradiction between the unconditionally Unlimited, and the unconditionally Limited.* It may be doubted whether even by the application of the canon of Excluded Middle, or of any other logical law, we can draw anything more than a purely formal conclusion in regard to things entirely and confessedly unknown. Certainly if we can, we surreptitiously introduce the Unconditioned, which had been expressly rejected. It may be doubted whether the premises laid down by Sir William, and the inference drawn from them, vary materially from the positions of Kant,† or extend beyond them. We offer these dubitations with diffidence, and with the utmost deference for the authority of Sir William; but we are convinced that the recognition of a more than Finite reality must assume a positive, and not merely a negative form, in order to afford a valid foundation for reasoning, and a sufficient preparation for faith. We are also assured that philosophy must repose on a positive basis, although the precise limitations of thought may be properly, as necessarily, negative.‡ And we do not perceive how such a positive basis can be obtained by leaving the reason oscillating *in vacuo* between "two inconditionates * * neither of which can be conceived as possible, but of which * * one must be admitted as necessary."§

But, from Sir William Hamilton's argument, it is intended to ap-

* We regard the terms as contraries, not as contradictories. Vide Trendelenburg, *Elem. Log. Aristot.*, §§ 10-13. Waitz, *Org. Aristot.*, vol. i, p. 308. *Aristot.*, *Metaph.*, lib. x, c. iv, p. 1055, a-b. *De Interp.*, c. vii, et *Scholia*.

† Sir William admits that the doctrine of Kant in regard to the Unconditioned is "fundamentally the same" as his own. *Discuss.*, p. 15; *Wight*, p. 457.

‡ "*Simplicia consueverunt per negationem definiri.*" S. Thom. Aquin., *Summa*, Ps. I, Qu. x, Art. I. The doctrine is that of Aristotle.

§ *Hamilton*, *Discuss.*, p. 15; *Wight*, p. 457.

pear, and from our argument it, perhaps, does appear, that, while the action of human intelligence proceeds only under certain conditions, and is therefore Finite in its essence, in its objects, in its apprehensions, one of these conditions, and the highest and most inspiring, is the consciousness, often disregarded, of this Finite character, and, therefore, an actual but impalpable knowledge of something greater in all attributes beyond it.

A negative character is not confined to the idea of the Infinite, but extends to the whole class of notions falling on one side of the line of complete dichotomy; a division exhibited in its supreme type by the contrast of *Ens* and *Non-Ens*. The impossibility of introducing a positive idea into them extends much further than is contemplated by Sir William Hamilton, who is inconsistent with himself, and with the whole spirit of his philosophy, in speaking of necessary truths, and attaching to them any other idea of necessity than that of the impossibility of a different conception. This, however, is an inconsistency into which Kant suffers himself to be betrayed; and this inconsequence has, in our apprehension, vitiated the Critical Philosophy, and permitted its evolution into the absolute schemes of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

In that exuberant encyclopædia of profound wisdom, abstract and practical, the Summa of the Angelic Doctor, there is a very simple and self-evident tenet enounced, which penetrates the whole question, and determines its solution: *Species cogniti est in cognoscente*;* the form of knowledge depends on the intelligence receiving it. This is, indeed, the doctrine of Sir William Hamilton and Kant, and descends from Aristotle. It supplies the axiomatic enunciation of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, implying in its pregnant brevity all the legitimate developments of that Philosophy, possible or realized.

The axiom cited states only that the form of the known, the known under its formal, precise, specific manifestations, is dependent upon the mind by which it is known. The very fact of specification gives the assurance of knowledge, or rather of the matter of knowledge, existing beyond the conditions of its actual reception, and containing possibly, nay, even presumably, the elements of a larger world of thought beyond. There was no absurdity in the fancy of Voltaire, which ascribed to the inhabitants of Saturn and Sirius more numerous senses and other capacities than are enjoyed by men. Thus, at every turn, the restrictions of the mind are forced upon our notice, but, at the same time, the assurance of a wider and not less real sphere than is

* Summa, Ps. 1, Qu. xiv, Art. i. So again, "Scitum est in sciente secundum modum scientis," and Art. iv: "Intelligere sequitur speciem intelligibilem."

bounded by the human horizon, is implanted, renovated, or confirmed. Furthermore, a positive foundation of knowledge is supplied even in the darkness of the unknown, though it is only cognizable under negative aspects; and the Finite, Conditioned, limited knowledge of man is felt to rest on a broader, firmer basis than itself, though everything but the reality of the support afforded is concealed in the dim obscurity of the unattainable. Thought strikes its roots as deeply into the unknown as it sends out its branches widely into the cognizable; and, while its action and achievements are circumscribed by the Finite, its life and its energies are fed from a larger treasury than the Finite of human apprehension.

"Altior ac penitus terræ defigitur arbos.
Quæ quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit."

The inevitable, irrecusable limitation of human knowledge is, therefore, the first principle of speculation. This has been termed by Sir William a negative impotence of the mind; thus promptly giving a definite, but, as usual, awkward expression to the law so clearly announced and so acutely analyzed by Kant. Admitting this limitation, the problem is immediately presented of detecting and classifying the preliminary conditions to be satisfied by the legitimate exercise of thought. The determination of these conditions results in the alphabet of thought, proposed by Sir William. In this he displays his customary perspicacity, his singular tact and precision in logical division, his comprehensive, acute, and delicate discrimination. But the Table is not altogether beyond the reach of criticism, for it apparently proves by the process of division that general imbecility and relativity of thought, which is assumed as the principle of division. By giving precedence, too, to the negations of thought, it renders its positive manifestations dependent upon them, and derivative from them. This error, if error it be, is closely connected with the defect, suspected by us in the whole scheme and framework of the Hamiltonian philosophy. It is as negative in its essence and in its form as that of Kant, which is continually, but unnecessarily the object of its special animadversion, notwithstanding the intimate consanguinity of the two systems. It lays its foundations upon Nothing, not upon the *Ens incognitum*, but upon the *Non-Ens cognitum*. It is, therefore, in our estimation, incapable of furnishing a positive foundation, a valid stability, for any of its developments. There is perhaps a deeper, and another significance than was designed, in the confession that the philosophies of the Unconditioned and of the Conditioned, "in one respect, both

coincide; for both agree that the knowledge of Nothing is the principle or consummation of all true philosophy:

“ *Scire Nihil, studium quo nos letamur uterque.* ”^o

The latent heresy contained in this admission may spring from the equivocation of the terms, or from the indistinctness of the idea. Whichever explanation be adopted, we think that error is present, and that the confusion, or non-discrimination of the conceptions, has generated the unrecognized implication of a fatal principle. Sir William is not unfrequently under the influence of his antagonists. He borrows from them much of his illumination; and the rays reflected are not always the pure white light of truth, but the complementary colors of the prism. This is almost an inevitable characteristic of a philosophy of opposition, which we conceive Sir William Hamilton's to be, so far as it is original. As the resistance to Spinoza and Spinozism, without the abjuration of Des Cartes, inspired the speculations of Leibnitz, but tinged them with the dye of the dogmas assailed; so Sir William, notwithstanding his tenacious adherence to Reid, has been infected and unconsciously overmastered at times by the errors of the Transcendentalists, which he attacked in their most dangerous, because most plausible form, the Eclecticism of Victor Cousin.

The Alphabet of Human Thought supplies a brief synopsis of the whole of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. Under the relations of Identity, Non-Contradiction, and Excluded Middle, Logic is evolved as the formal science of ratiocination. The antithesis of Subject and Object, an antithesis in which more attention is paid to the relation observed than to the terms opposed, affords the prime condition of knowledge, or rather of the formulation and enunciation of knowledge.† All of Kant enters into this antithesis; all of Ferrier issues from it.

The relations of Existence are divided into the Intrinsic and the Extrinsic. The Intrinsic are represented as Substance and Quality; the Extrinsic are the Protensive, Time, including Cause and Effect; the Extensive, Space, embracing Ultimate Incompressibility; and the Intensive Degree, applying to Power, Action, Passion, etc. We find the germ and the essential character of this subdivision, where Sir William would have least expected them to exist, in the writings of the Neo-Platonic school;‡ another proof of the ap-

^o Discuss., p. 609. Wight, p. 492.

† For Sir William's doctrine of Subject and Object, see Discuss., pp. 5, 6, Note, p. 604. App. to Reid, Note D, § 2, 21, p. 860, 861. Wight, pp. 385, 445, 446, 487.

‡ Procli Institutio Theologica, § 86. *Πρόθεσις*, protensio, § 11.

proximation, involuntary and unimagined, to the Idealism of the Later Academics and of the French Eclectics.

When Existence is contemplated as an objective reality, the ultimate and most abstract form in which it can be conceived is as Substance. This Substance, as being the highest generalization of thought, is of course indescribable, and admits only of a negative definition.* It is not matter; for that, in its most vague conception, is at least the *substantia substantiata*, substance incorporated.† It is not space, for that is definable by dimensions. The singular description of matter attempted by Porphyry in his epitome of Plotinus,‡ may assist us in the endeavor to eliminate all attributes, which is the sole process capable of leading to the attenuated idea of Substance. It is the foundation which underlies all the attributes of being, and sustains them; the residuum which remains after the separation of all the *discernible* qualities and properties of existence. It is purely an *Ens Rationale*, to recur to the significant language of the Schoolmen; it has objective reality only in concrete forms; it includes both mind and matter; and, shadowy as it appears, furnishes the only real foundation for knowledge by the positive asseveration of Existence.§

We cannot agree with Sir William that Substance and Quality are nothing more than mutual relatives. The idea of Substance is independent of that of Quality; but the idea of Quality presupposes that of Substance, because the former is manifested only by inherence in the latter. The absolute correlation of Substance and Quality renders, as is both apparent and indirectly acknowledged, the foundation of being as phenomenal and ideal as any scheme of idealism could desire, and is scarcely consistent with Sir William's claim to be a Natural Realist.||

Quality is an affection of Substance by which it is discriminated or differentiated, thereby rendering the qualified entity capable of apprehension, distinction, comparison. But the quality itself is determined by the intellectual apprehension, not separably charac-

* καὶ ὅτ' καὶ τὸ πᾶσι τε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ζῷα καὶ ἀπορούμενον, τί τὸ ὄν, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία. Aristot., Metaph., VI, I, p. 1028, b. 2; vide c. iv. et Schol. Alexand. Aphrod. et Asclep.

† Yet even Matter is incognizable. "Materia secundum se neque esse habet, neque cognoscibilis est." St. Thom. Aquin., Summa, Ps. i, Qu. xv, Art. iii.

‡ Porphyry Sentent., § xxi. Plotin., Ennead, II, iv.

§ We agree fully with Leibnitz, Nouv. Ess., liv. II, c. xiii, vol. ii, p. 161: "Je crois que la détermination de la substance est un point des plus importants et des plus féconds de la philosophie."

|| Hamilton's Reid, Note B, § 1, p. 804. Note C, § 1, p. 816. Wight, pp. 239, 265, 266.

terized by any cognizable realities of substance. It is, accordingly, a creation of the reason, and incapable of affording any insight into the real constitution of things. Nevertheless, the allegation of both Substance and Quality is an asseveration of real and external existence, though not of its actual characteristics.

The Extrinsic relations of Existence, as manifested in Protensive, Extensive, and Intensive Quantity, evoke many of the most arduous and important problems of Metaphysics. What is Time? what is Space? what is Degree? Sir William Hamilton refers to Time the unsolved, and, perhaps, insoluble question of Cause and Effect; and to Space and Degree respectively, the Primary and Secondary Qualities of body; to both conjointly the Secundo Primary, according to his nomenclature.* The doctrine of Quality, implicated as it is with the doctrine of Perception, has appropriated to itself the larger and more brilliant portion of Sir William's philosophical labors. In this division of his writings he expatiates in the varied learning of all ages, pertinaciously collecting from the most divergent sources the innumerable rills with which he fertilizes his own speculations. Here, too, he revels in the exercise of his wonderfully acute powers of discrimination, establishing the most minute differences, and employing them when established for the purpose of introducing fruitful distinctions. Here, also, his precision is so punctilious, so fastidiously exact, that it becomes a painful effort to follow him in his never-ending divisions, and his delicate anatomy of the slightest impressions received by the mind. Patiently he weaves his subtle intellectual web, spinning his lines as fine, but as strong in their tenuity, as those of the gossamer, and ingeniously interlacing them with consummate regularity, till no escape is left from the labyrinthine toils. A microscopic examination of the whole contexture of this admirable fabric could alone authorize any criticism of its details, or any adequate appreciation of its merits. We cannot "compress into a few pages what filled the life of a great man;" and must be content to express without explanation, our cordial admiration of the vast and varied erudition exhibited, and of the native strength which moves freely, easily, and spontaneously under the load of such an encumbrance.

Sir William's Academical relation to the Scotch School, and probably his employment of Reid as a text-book, may have been the cause of such an expenditure of thought and learning in the elucidation of the system of Reid. To the same cause, as to the same department of philosophy, must be attributed his attempts to determine the characteristics of the first principles of reason, the funda-

* Hamilton, *Discuss.*, pp. 607, 608. Wight, p. 491.

mental beliefs of the Scotch sect. All finite knowledge, as all finite being, must have a commencement; a foundation must be discovered somewhere. The theory of common sense accepts as first principles those convictions which have received the habitual assent of all mankind; this procedure easily lapses into the dangerous heresies of Lamennais. Sir William endeavors to confirm the position of Reid by summoning to his support the shades of more than a hundred witnesses. We do not think that their testimony is rendered in favor of Reid or Reid's thesis; but solely to the necessity of indemonstrable principles; and if we look beyond the constitution of the mind for their origin, we would be inclined to recur to the tradition of a primitive revelation. De Bonald explained the mystery of language by the regular transmission and development of a divinely revealed instrument. It appears even more rational and necessary to acknowledge such agency in regard to the contents, the soul of language, the premises of articulate reason. If we turn our vision inward, and endeavor to fathom the intellect with the plummet of self-consciousness, we find no bottom. There is at least as great difficulty in discovering the foundations of thought, as in detecting in time or out of time the initiation of causation. The refuge which we suggest is certainly sustained by the Scriptures. "The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord:" "The word of the Lord * * * formeth the spirit of man within him;" "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord;" "For with thee is the fountain of light; in thy light shall we see light;" "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."* It may be that thus we transcend the limits of philosophy, and by seeking its principles beyond its sphere, destroy its independence and self-sufficiency. It may be that we reduce the operation of philosophy to purely negative functions.† Be it so: we cannot conceive any other philosophy tenable; and are well assured that these objections would not be alleged by Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Leibnitz, Kant, or Sir William Hamilton, whom we recognize as the loftiest spirits in the annals of philosophical speculation. Any other origin for our fundamental principles than that suggested drives us into Pantheism, Humanitarianism, or the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, with its corollary, the transmigration of souls; and leaves in the latter case

* Prov. xvi, 1; Zech. xii, 1; Prov. xx, 27; Psalms xxxvi, 9; Job xxxii, 8. So S. Augustin, Solil. "Soli Deo est anima rationalis subjecta in illuminationibus et influentibus omnibus principalibus."

† A remarkable proof of the negative character of Metaphysics and Systematic Theology is contained in St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa, Ps. i, Qu. i, Art. viii.

a primitive revelation or an eternal knowledge at the beginning of the series.

These remarks, however, do not impair the value of Sir William's attempt to determine the characteristics of a fundamental belief, or an indemonstrable principle, as Aristotle more appropriately terms it. These are Incomprehensibility, Simplicity, Necessity, and absolute Universality, comparative Evidence and Certainty.* We will not undertake to determine whether there may not be some surplusage in this attribution, and whether an Immediate or Indemonstrable principle is not self-revealed by the very act of intuition. The mind has been so constituted as to receive with entire and unalterable conviction, certain principles of thought, and the tenacity of the belief is not affected by the mode in which they may be conceived to be presented, whether by a direct inspiration, by a spontaneous evolution, by unbroken transmission, or by their concomitant evidences.† Such a conviction is obviously an indispensable condition of thought and reason. There must be the assurance of the validity of the reason.‡ We may argue against it; we may perplex ourselves with ingenious antinomies and inextricable bewilderments; but the assurance must remain, and does remain. This assurance is faith; identical in character, similar in purpose, and approximating in intensity to that faith which is required for the acceptance of the supernatural truths of revelation. In both cases it is "the substance of things hoped for; the evidence of things not seen." Thus Faith is the foundation of philosophy and of science, as well as of religion.§ Herein is found the bond of union which admits us into the fraternity of Aristotle, (may we not add, Plato?) and all the great philosophers, including Sir William Hamilton, who have followed in the footsteps of Aristotle. The observations with which Sir William concludes his sketch of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, do not merely receive our most cordial concurrence, but inspire us with renewed admiration for the philosopher who wrote them. It is only because we think the general tenor of his doctrine

* Hamilton's Reid, Note A, § 2, pp. 749-751. Wight, pp. 36-41.

† The distinction between primitive or indemonstrable knowledge, and derivative knowledge, is marked by Aristotle in the contrast between τὸ νοητὸν and τὸ διανοητόν, less felicitously but as broadly by Kant.

‡ Hamilton's Reid, Note A, § 1, pp. 744, 745. Wight, pp. 21, 22. Aristot., Metaph., III, V, pp. 1009, 1010. Cic., Acad. Prior., II, x, § 31.

§ "Tanta autem est veritatis ampla libertas, liberaque amplitudo, ut nullius scientiæ speculationibus, non ullo sensuum urgenti judicio, non ullis logici artificii argumentis, nulla probatione evidente, nullo syllogismo demonstrante, nec ullo humanæ rationis discursu possit deprehendi, nisi sola fide," etc. H. Corn. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. Scient., c. 1.

conflicts with the aspirations cherished by him, that we have ventured to express so many doubts, and to express them at such length. But we may be misguided ourselves. We may have either misconceived the character and import of Sir William's doctrines, or misapprehended their tendencies. We may not anticipate with sufficient clearness the ultimate tendencies of our own. Our desire is to accept or discover a scheme of philosophy which will eventuate in the results proposed by Sir William. We are afraid that his system eventuates in Ferrierism.

This apprehension is suggested by the general tenor of his philosophy, always inclining too strongly, in our belief, to the negative aspects of human thought, and to an absolute acquiescence in the results of Induction. But Induction can only bring us to a provisional certainty; a certainty limited not merely by the finite character of the human mind, but by the finite range of human observation. If Induction be of itself the widest scope of the intellect, the thorough-going quantification of the predicate is natural, possible, and appropriate. If it be not, as we think it is not, as virtually Sir William admits that it is not, the thorough-going quantification of the predicate is impossible in fact, and delusive in form. For the same reason, we conclude that the amplitude of speculation is larger in breadth than it is in depth, that "the large discourse of reason" penetrates further into the mysteries of the universe than any induction, which can never transcend the phenomenal, never pass from the consideration of the habituality of occurrence to the conception of the uniformity of law. This statement may apparently conflict with Lord Bacon,* but it accords with Aristotle;† and we have long learned to estimate the sage of Stagira much more highly than the inquirer of St. Alban's.

Our apprehensions are still more decidedly excited by the purely negative theory of causation propounded by Sir William. The Princeton Reviewer is distinctly right in his acute objection that "this solution avoids the important element in the phenomenon to be explained."[‡] He would probably agree with us in regarding it

* Inst. Mag. Pref., p. 157. Distr. Op., p. 166. Nov. Org., I, Aph. xiii, xxiv. A similar but much more appropriate remark is made by Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., Ps. iii, p. 36: Ps. iv, p. 48.

† δεῖ πιστεῦναι τε καὶ εἶδέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ τοιοῦτον ἔχειν συλλογισμὸν ὃν καλοῦμεν ἀπὸ δεῖξιν . . . Analyt. Post., I, c. ii; vide c. iii, and the important scholia on these chapters.

‡ Princeton Rev., p. 25; thus stated by Aristotle, Metaph., IV, c. ii: ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἢ πρώτη ἢ τῆς ἡρεμῆσεως, οἷον ὁ βουλευσας αἰτίος καὶ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ τέκνου, καὶ ὁλως τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιουμένου, καὶ τὸ μεταβλητικὸν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος.

as a mistake to assign Cause and Effect to the category of Time. The idea of Time is involved in them, but they are assuredly not implied in the idea of Time. Sir William has been betrayed into this error by the influence of the Scotch School, which degrades causation to little more than succession, and whose doctrine might almost be represented by the Greek riddle, in regard to the alternations of Night and Day:

Εἰσὶ κασιγνηταὶ διτταί, ὧν ἡ μία τίκτει
τὴν ἑτέραν, αὐτὴ δὲ τεκὼνσ' ἐπὶ τῇδε τεκνοῦται.^o

The important consideration in the enigma of causality is not its occurrence in time, but the exercise of power. A negative explanation of this is obviously insufficient. Mental impotence will not explain the positive idea. Nor are we reduced to such straits. Causation is a native, primitive, indemonstrable conception; the baby sucks its nourishment from the breast, applying an operative cause, and experiencing a desired effect in advance of any discernible exercise of conscious reasoning. A thousand analogies in nature explain or reveal, or rather render determinate, the idea of causation, without recurring to so remote an hypothesis as the impossibility of conceiving an absolute commencement or termination in time, for the explanation of the relation of Cause and Effect. On such a principle, we do not understand how the idea of a Supreme Creator, of a great First Cause, can be entertained; for, in this case, we must conceive a cause anterior to time and extending in duration beyond the termination of time. Mental impotence may furnish a satisfactory elucidation of the limitations of thought; but something more solid and positive is required for the basis of philosophy, and to give assurance to reason.

This basis and this assurance are both given by the cordial acceptance of indemonstrable principles, without reservation and without cavillation. It is of the very essence of such principles that they should be certain and positive of themselves, and not need corroboration. They are beyond proof, beyond comprehension, but are not therefore beyond reason, or at variance with it. "*Quod est supra rationem, non tamen præter rationem.*"† They are freely given to us; a voluntary and rich endowment of our intellectual constitution; they are the charter of the liberties and of the empire of the human mind, which enjoys those liberties, and exercises that empire only as it humbles itself by renouncing any autocracy of its

^o Theodectes, apud Athen., *Deipnosoph.*, x, p. 451, E.

† Richard of St. Victor. So Cassiodorus, *Var. viii.*, Ep. xxxii, "*has causas nulla ratio comprehendit: quia supra intellectum humanum esse cognoscitur, quod (qui?) tantum rebus naturalibus applicatur.*"

own, and by rendering due homage and liege faith to the source of its authority and illumination. To question the reality of causation, or to fritter away the substance of the conception by perplexed interpretations, is to unsettle the foundations of all belief, scientific and philosophical. Here, we may well say with the poet:

"Scelus est quod scire laboras."

We are reluctant to conclude this criticism with the expression of our conviction that Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy is not calculated to produce the happy results so steadily designed, and so confidently anticipated by himself. His appetencies and aspirations were all right and noble; every impulse of his intellectual nature longed for the conciliation of Reason and Faith, and sought in the humility of learned ignorance the tranquillity afforded by a firm acceptance of the truths of revelation. But the influence of Reid and his miserable sectaries, of Victor Cousin and his disciples, the jealousy of Aristotle, and the delusions engendered by a restless and subtle intellect, appear to have deflected the developments of the Philosophy of the Conditioned from its aim. The precepts and the example of Sir William indeed teach us the wisdom of the old rule, to be chary in our cultivation of philosophy.

"Philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis: nam omnino haut placet:
Degustandum ex ea, non in eam ingurgitandum censeo."

The great lesson taught by the experience and by the lips of Sir William Hamilton, is to rely not upon the native strength of the intellect, but upon the gracious bounty of faith; to trust not to the conclusions of the human reason alone, but to seek the only infallible support for reason in the revelations of Heaven.

There is nothing more exquisitely beautiful in expression, more profound in its deep and wholesome philosophy, more graceful in its learning, more ennobling in its inspiration, or more Christian in its spirit, than the touching remarks with which Sir William concludes his sketch of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, and reaffirms in his own person the confession of ignorance, which has been the loftiest triumph of the loftiest intellects in all ages.* This child-like, innocent abnegation of intellectual pride and all the vanities of speculation, was a fitting close to his philosophical career and to his life. It reminds us of the memorable prayer of Albertus Magnus, and its significant accomplishment. According to the

* Sir William has quoted a striking passage from Cardinal Caietan: we venture to quote another: "Quiescit intellectus noster non evidentia veritatis inspectæ, sed altitudine inaccessibili veritatis occultæ." Cit Leibnitz, *De Conform. Fid. cum Rat.*, 1, § 48.

medieval legend, the great Bishop of Ratisbon, the preceptor of the greater St. Thomas Aquinas, was alarmed at the dangers and seductions of philosophy, and besought Heaven that its temptations might never beguile him from the paths of the Christian religion. In answer to his prayers, a complete oblivion of all the dogmas of the philosophers overtook him five years before his death, and left him to die in the faith of Christ, and not in the opinions of men.*

Whatever may be the speculative errors of Sir William Hamilton, and we intend to suggest the possibility of their presence rather than to assert their actual existence, his mind was steeped in the illumination of religious faith; and, if we imitate him in his reverential humility, we cannot be much misguided by his philosophy. The reconciliation of Reason and Faith, thus practically obtained, has been sought and sought in vain since the early aspirations of Justin Martyr in the second century. If it was not found by Sir William, it was not attained by Leibnitz, it was not fathomed by St. Anselm. The elements of the concord may perhaps exist undeveloped or misdeveloped in the Philosophy of the Conditioned; but if they are latent there, they are more certainly and profoundly contained, explicitly or implicitly, in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Aristotle. For this reason, we have made such frequent references to their works in the course of this criticism; believing that Sir William, and Kant, and even Leibnitz, and Bacon, and Aquinas, and Aristotle, may all be harmonized, that the union is to be found in the pages of the Stagirite; that the Peripatetic doctrine, revived and expounded in accordance with the lights of recent speculation, contains all that is important and true in the scheme of the Conditioned, and does afford a valid and positive basis for the union of philosophy with religion.

In the returning ascendancy of Aristotle we confidently believe, and patiently await the rapidly approaching renovation of his legitimate authority. Had our opportunities permitted us to study his doctrines as they ought to be studied; had we been capable of comprehending them as they may be comprehended, we should take pleasure in expediting their restoration. But we much content ourselves with the expression of our hopes; being well assured the while, that we do not admire Sir William Hamilton less, because we admire Aristotle more.

* Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.*, tom. III, p. 790.

ART. II.—THE SESSION OF THE NEW-YORK CONFERENCE OF 1789; ITS DOINGS AND THEIR RESULTS.

OF all the annual conferences which have been held since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, none, perhaps, in its doings and their results, can be considered so vastly important, as that which met at the old John-street Church in the City of New-York, May 28, 1789. It was composed of less than twenty members; yet it included men of the most eminent ability and of the most distinguished note in the ecclesiastic annals of both hemispheres, and whose memories their grateful successors will not willingly let die.

Among them was Freeborn Garrettson, a native of Maryland, one of the earliest converts to Methodism on the continent, and one of the first preachers raised up in America; holy, devout, and zealous in a remarkable degree, bland, courteous, and gentlemanly in his manners, and yet who had suffered the violence of mobs and imprisonment for the name of the Lord Jesus; who had called together the famous Christmas Conference of 1784, and was one of its most prominent members; who had served as a missionary amid the ice and snows of Nova Scotia for the two years immediately subsequent to that event, and, with the venerable William Black, was the apostle of that important province; who, the year before, had led a corps of young men into the country north of New-York, and had formed a large district, stretching from the city to the waters of Lake Champlain; and who, four years after, became connected, by marriage, with the famous Livingston family, which figures so largely in the colonial and revolutionary history of the State of New-York. Thomas Morrell, a Jerseyman by birth, who had been a commissioned officer in the continental army, during the late struggle for independence; a compatriot in arms with the immortal Washington, but now "a soldier of the cross," and who had brought the courage, promptness, and system of the camp into the Christian pastorate, talented, popular, and effective. John Dickins, a native of London, studious, learned, and gloomy, "a son of thunder" as a preacher, one of the originators of Cokesbury College, and who drew up its first subscription; the friend and confidant of Asbury, and the first book steward of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who finally fell a victim to the yellow fever which visited Philadelphia in 1798. Darius Dunham, "undersized, compact, strong and healthy,

with coarse hair, bushy eyebrows, and a heavy bass voice,"* witty, sarcastic, of good talents as a preacher, with a fearless and indomitable spirit, which rose in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome; a character, indeed, and who, two years after, accompanied William Losee, who was this year admitted as a probationer, up the waters of the Mohawk, across the portage to the waters of the Oswego, and from thence across those of Ontario, into the wilds of Canada, where he assisted to plant Methodism, in what has since proved to be a highly fruitful soil, and to which he devoted the most of his subsequent laborious and pious life. Jesse Lee, a native of the Old Dominion, now but thirty years of age, pious, zealous, and laborious; witty, cheerful, and overflowing with good-humor; stout and athletic, capable of performing great labors, and of enduring great fatigue; talented, eloquent, and able in debate; the best every-day preacher in the connection, and of great executive ability; for many years subsequently, a chaplain to Congress, the first historian of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who, in after years, extended his unwearied labors from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's, and who was now about to plant the standard of Methodism in the beautiful land of the Pilgrims. Thomas Coke, a native of South Wales, pious, learned, and courtly; laborious, indefatigable, and generous to a fault; a gentleman of fortune, educated amid England's proud aristocracy, at the ancient University of Oxford; LL.D., a clergyman of the Church of England, who had become connected with Mr. Wesley twelve years before, consecrated by him our first bishop, and who was by him sent to organize our infant societies into an independent Church in 1784; whose honored name stands foremost in the history of modern missions, as the founder of the largest and most successful Protestant Missionary Society in the world; who crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, sometimes suffering capture and shipwreck, in the performance of his special work, as a messenger of mercy to our lost race; and who, emphatically, "lived not for himself," a man of a myriad. And lastly, Francis Asbury, a native of Old England, and the son of an humble gardener; a public speaker at the early age of sixteen, a member of the famous Bristol Conference of 1770, one of Mr. Wesley's first missionaries to this country, and the only one who fully identified himself with our cause, in the days of the Revolution, literally forsaking father and mother for our sake; our first bishop in connection with Dr. Coke, both by the appointment of Mr. Wesley and the suffrages of his brethren of the American Conference; pious, zealous, laborious, well read, and eloquent; of great soundness of judgment, of vast comprehension of

* Heroes of Methodism.

views, and who possessed, like Washington, that rare combination of qualities, which pointed him out as a man born to command; the most distinguished ecclesiastical character that our country has yet seen.

Such were the men, who, after spending three or four days in praying and planning, hastened away to execute, some for the crowded and populous cities of the Middle States; some for the pleasant land on the banks of the Hudson and on Long Island; one to carry the doctrines of free grace into Calvinistic New-England; one, the pastor of a flock which fed upon a thousand hills, to make the tour of most of the continent; and another to visit England, Ireland, and the West Indies, and then to hasten back to his American work. The New-York Conference, with its two branches, has since become "a goodly heritage" indeed, and many are the sons which she has brought up, pious, learned, and talented; but it will be no disparagement to them to say, that it is questionable whether any subsequent session of that ancient and venerable body has ever been able to present such an array of talent and of men of such historic importance and celebrity. Such were the men. We now turn to notice their work and its subsequent results.

This conference met in the midst of one of the most important and critical periods in the history of our country, and in the very place in which the most interest was now concentrated; and in the providence of God, they were now to lead the way in the performance of a Christian duty that was not to be without its influence upon the welfare and destinies of our nation. At the close of the late war with Great Britain, the United States found themselves thirteen sovereign and independent states; but exhausted and prostrate after the late protracted and fearful struggle for their national independence, and without a general government, or any bond of union at all adequate to their pressing and urgent political necessities. In this emergence, a convention of delegates from the several states met in Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the articles of the old Confederation, which had been adopted during the late war, and to adapt them to the new condition of the country. But, upon examination, this was found impossible. It could not be done. A sense of common and imminent danger, rather than any efficiency in these articles of confederation, had held the states together; but now, as that powerful outward pressure was withdrawn, they were found utterly inadequate to the wants of the people. Therefore, throwing these articles aside, the convention, with Washington at their head, proceeded to frame the present Constitution of the United States; and which, as it was done without authority, they immediately sent down to the people for their ratification. After desperate struggles,

and in the face of immense opposition from a numerous and powerful party, inimical to the proposed new order of things, it was finally adopted, by bare majorities in most cases, by eleven of the states; and the first election was held, according to its provisions, which resulted in the choice of Washington as the first President of the new republic. Congress was appointed to meet in the City of New-York, on the 4th of March of this year. But at this time, the halls intended for its accommodation were still in the hands of the carpenters and echoing to the sound of the hammer, while but few members of the new government had even arrived in the city. Nearly a whole month drew its weary length along, amid the painful fears and intense anxieties of the friends of the new government, when, finally, the House of Representatives was organized on April 1st, the Senate on the 6th; the president was officially informed of his election, at Mount Vernon, on the 14th, and it was not till the 30th, that, amid the smiles and tears of his friends, he was finally inaugurated as chief magistrate of the new republic.

But the new government was utterly without strength, save in its own inherent moral power, and in the ardent affections of its friends, who scarcely amounted to a bare majority of the nation. It was without an army, without a navy, without funds, and without an alliance of a single friendly power abroad, save France, and this was upon the eve of failing us; and Congress was now in the midst of those debates by which it was about to assume the debts of the revolution, under the funding system of Alexander Hamilton, to the amount of upward of \$73,000,000.

Such was the state of things when this Conference met, almost in the immediate neighborhood of the halls of Congress. In those early days, the bishops both offered motions and made speeches on the floor of conferences, the same as the other members; and on the second day of the session, Bishop Asbury offered the following for the consideration of the Conference: "Whether it would not be proper for them, as a Church, to present a congratulatory address to General Washington, who had been lately inaugurated President of the United States, in which should be embodied their approbation of the Constitution, and a profession of their allegiance to the government." The Conference unanimously approved, and warmly recommended the measure, and immediately appointed the two bishops to draw up the proposed address. It was prepared the same day, and read to the Conference, the members of which showed great satisfaction at its recital. Thomas Morrell, who had been a commissioned officer in the American army, and was personally acquainted with the president, and John Dickins, were immediately appointed

a committee to wait on the president with a copy of the address, and to request him to appoint a time in which he would receive the bishops, one of whom would read it to him and receive his answer. He appointed the fourth succeeding day, at twelve o'clock, for this purpose. At the time appointed the two bishops waited upon him, accompanied by the committee, Messrs. Morrell and Dickens. As Dr. Coke, although having ecclesiastical authority in this country, was yet a British subject, and it was therefore deemed improper for him to do so, Mr. Asbury read the address with great self-possession, and in a highly impressive manner. The president then read his answer with fluency and animation; the parties then exchanged their respective addresses, and after sitting a few minutes, the bishops, with the committee, took their leave. This was not, however, the first time that Washington and these two Christian bishops had met. They were previously acquainted. Being in Alexandria, Va., in the latter part of May, 1785, on the 26th, they received an invitation from the general to dine, which was accepted. He received them very politely; and after dinner, they had a private interview with him on the subject of slavery, in which he gave them his opinion against that institution, expressed his wishes for its abolition, and said, that he had already delivered his sentiments upon the subject to some of the leading men of the state, and that in case any movement should be made for that purpose, his suffrage should not be wanting.* They now met him for the second and last time, to congratulate him on his elevation to the presidency, and to tender the allegiance of themselves and of their numerous people to his government.

The following is the address and reply:

ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

"To the President of the United States:

"SIR,—We, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society, collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations on your appointment to the presidentship of these states. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend of mankind; and under this established idea, place as full confidence in your wisdom and integrity for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God, and the glorious revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man.

"We have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the universe which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these states, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar

* Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, pp. 142, 143. Asbury's Journals, vol. i, p. 496.

for imitation; and hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of his Holy Spirit, that he may enable you to fill up your important station to his glory, the good of his Church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

"Signed in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"THOMAS COKE,
"FRANCIS ASBURY."

"NEW-YORK, May 29, 1789."

THE REPLY OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

"GENTLEMEN,—I return to you individually, and through you to your society collectively in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection, and the expressions of joy offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall be my endeavor to manifest the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power toward the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me.

"It always affords me satisfaction when I find a concurrence of sentiment and practice between all conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine vital religion; I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make, of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the Divine benediction upon yourselves, and your religious community.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Both the address and answer appeared in the Gazette of the United States on the following Saturday, June 6th, and great was the surprise and excitement which they created in certain quarters. The next week a furious article appeared in one of the city papers respecting them, in which certain questions were propounded: "Who is Dr. Coke? How came he to be a bishop? Who consecrated him?" etc., and also containing some severe animadversions upon the alleged impropriety of a British subject officially signing a congratulatory address to the President of the United States, and expressing admiration for its Constitution and approbation of its government; also charging him with being an enemy of the country; with having written an inflammatory political pamphlet against us during the war of independence, and with consequent duplicity in the late transaction. The doctor having sailed for Liverpool the preceding Friday, Thomas Morrell, who was stationed in the city this year, and who had a perfect knowledge of the matter, took up

his pen in defense of the absent and assailed bishop, answered these queries, and repelled the ill-founded charges of his assailant. A second article of the same character appeared, to which Mr. Morrell wrote a second response; after which no more of the kind appeared. Mr. Morrell subsequently received the doctor's thanks for this prompt vindication of his action and character.*

Also, upon the appearance of this address and answer, some other denominations felt much dissatisfied that the Methodists should take the lead in the performance of so plain and obvious a duty, and hastened to follow their pious and patriotic example. The Presbyterian Church presented one June 5, the German Reformed June 10, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, one dated August 7, and presented August 19. Such was the condition of the country, and such was the state of public feeling at this period, that we have no hesitation in saying, that after the reception of these addresses, by which the new government had been thus assured of the approval and support of most of the leading denominations of the Middle and Southern States, it no doubt drew a longer breath, and went to its work, fraught with such important and immense results to our infant nation and to the race, with renewed alacrity and courage. From the stanch Puritans of New-England, as they were not represented by so much as a single Church near the seat of government, we know not that any address ever came; and neither in their case was it especially necessary. In their own section they were a large and powerful body, and had ever given the most unmistakable approval, both of the late war of independence and of the new order of things; and among them Washington had his firmest friends and the new government its strongest supporters.

It may have seemed then, and may now seem to some, strange that the Methodists, then so recent a people, should take the initiative in this matter. But this seeming impropriety may, perhaps, entirely disappear, when we state, that even at this early period, although not a quarter of a century had elapsed since Embury had formed his first class in the City of New-York, yet they were already not only the most active and flourishing, but also one of the most numerous and powerful bodies of Christians in the United States, and the only one whose unity was so perfect, and whose ecclesiastical organization was so complete, as to enable them to concentrate their forces at any given point. They then numbered 43,262, of which nearly 6,000 had been added the previous year.

There is one supposable fact in this connection, to which we have never seen any reference made by any writer whatever. In the

* Bangs's History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. i, pp. 279-286.

convention which formed the Constitution, the Methodists were represented by one member, the Honorable Richard Bassett, of Delaware, a personal friend and confidant of Bishop Asbury. He was a distinguished and influential lawyer, who at various times filled the offices of Judge of the United States Court, for the circuit comprising the districts of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and Delaware, governor of the latter, and was also now a senator in the first Congress from that state. He was a staunch Federalist of that period; and it was under the leadership of such men as he, and George Read, and John Dickinson, that the people of Delaware were the first to adopt the Constitution, which they did as early as December, 1787; and thus taking the initiative in this important business, showed other and more powerful states the way. There is now no positive and direct proof of the fact; but we presume, that the suggestion which led to this address was from him; that he intimated to his friend Bishop Asbury, that an address of this nature, congratulating the president on his election to the chief magistracy, expressing a cordial approval of the new government, and professing allegiance to it, might not only be acceptable, but also highly useful at this important juncture, and it was done.

Another of the doings of this Conference (for as there was no General Conference at this time, all measures were originated in the annual conferences) was the permanent establishment of the Book Concern; a measure of the most transcendent importance, and the happy results of which cannot well be overestimated. Several of the leading members of this Conference had been previously engaged amid immense discouragements, and in opposition to almost insurmountable obstacles, in the establishment of Cokesbury College, which had been opened less than two years before; and now they proceeded to the performance of a similar enterprise. Previous to the late war, Robert Williams had published several of Mr. Wesley's sermons, and extensively circulated them, by which, as is ever the case, much good was effected. But the Conference took the business out of his hands, made it a connectional concern, and forbid him to publish any more on his own responsibility. From this time, there are occasional allusions to the publication and sale of books; but concerning the way in which the business was conducted, we have now no information. But at this Conference it was resolved to establish a regular book concern, to be located in the City of Philadelphia; which was not only quite central and convenient for business, but was also then the largest city in the Union; and John Dickins, who was esteemed the best qualified for the work of any man in the connection, was appointed the first steward. The office of book steward was then

no sinecure. He not only performed the duties of editor, but of clerk and packer, and was also in charge of St. George's Church. The printing was hired done; as for the rest of the business, the whole was conducted in one small room; and it was styled the Book Room, which designation, pointing to its humble origin and small beginnings, is still retained, although it has now attained to such colossal proportions.

The first book published was Thomas à Kempis, a work much more highly esteemed and generally read among us at that period than at present. The Hymn Book, Saint's Rest, and Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic, a work then thought almost indispensable in every Methodist household, and the first volume of the Arminian Magazine, were also published the same year. The catalogue of the infant concern was then soon read.

The establishment of this concern, in view of the great dearth of religious literature at that period, and also of its present extensive operations, highly flourishing condition, and immensely important results, to which it has attained within the memory of man, must be considered as one of the most pregnant events in the whole history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was the first religious publishing house in the land, as it is now one of the largest and the most useful.

Thus did this humble, though truly noble body of Methodist itinerants, vilified and reproached as they have been for their supposed illiteracy, take the first step in supplying our growing republic churchwise, with a wholesome religious literature, in providing unborn millions with the needed intellectual and spiritual *pabulum*, and in erecting a mighty barrier against that flood of ungodly and irreligious publications which have since flooded the land; in which good work they were not followed by others, till nearly a whole generation had passed away, and the first regular onset of infidelity, in our country, had spent its force. And the further importance of this incipient measure of the New-York Conference of 1789, composed as it was of less than a score of men, the centuries of the eventful and glorious future, fraught as they will be with the mighty destinies of nations, and eternity itself, can only fully develop. The press has now become a mighty engine in our world. It is one of the forces which now control society and mould its character, as never before; and those who manage it have the fate of the world, in part, in their hands.

There is also another event of some importance connected with this Conference, and which we will, in part, anticipate. William Losee, who, two years subsequently, was sent into Canada, and was

the pioneer of Methodism in that important province, was received on trial at this session.

In 1780, during the war of the Revolution, among the soldiers stationed at Quebec, were several persons belonging to the Wesleyan societies. Among these was a commissariat officer belonging to the 44th regiment of foot, who was a local preacher, and who, in the spirit so characteristic of the body to which he belonged, held religious meetings among his brethren. But he formed no society; and at the close of the war returned to England. Upon some of the soldiers being disbanded, others of his brethren scattered themselves over the province.

In the winter of 1788-89, the season preceding this Conference, a pious young man belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the name of Lyon, taught a school in Adolphostown, C. W., and held meetings as an exhorter, and with encouraging success. But having no authority, he also formed no societies.

About the same time, an Irishman, by the name of M'Carty, a Whitefieldian Methodist, settled in Earnesttown, C. W. Being moved by the sight of the religious destitution around him, he commenced reading sermons to his neighbors, with distinguished success. Some, as in the commencement of Presbyterianism in Virginia, in 1743, were brought to God and converted, through this humble instrumentality. But, as is usually the case, he suffered much persecution, and even an unjust civil prosecution. While defending himself in this suit, in which he was assisted by the kindness and munificence of Sir John Johnson, who furnished him with funds for this purpose, and also by a kind-hearted attorney in Montreal, who volunteered in his defense, he mysteriously disappeared, and was never afterward heard of; and the circumstances of the case were such as to leave room to surmise, that there had been foul play in the matter. Of his three principal prosecutors, two, the sheriff and a militia captain, died suddenly soon after, and the third, an engineer, made a confession of his wickedness, but soon after became insane. Their signal judgments, following so closely upon the heels of the transgression, no doubt made a salutary impression upon the minds of the beholders.

At this time there were a few scattered pioneers of Methodism in the province, who, in 1790, sent a request to the New-York Conference for a preacher, and in 1791, William Losee, as before intimated, was sent them. At this time there were but few settlements west of Albany. The whole of the north, west, and interior of the State of New-York, was mostly a wilderness; and the usual route to Canada was up the Mohawk River, across the portage to

Oneida Lake, thence down the Oswego River to Lake Ontario, and thence across its waters to the northern shore. But this hardy and intrepid man, although so young in the ministry, nothing daunted, undertook this difficult mission, and at once proceeded to his work. Upon his arrival, he formed a circuit along the waters of Lake Ontario and the Bay of Quinte, including Kingston, Earnesttown, Fredericksburgh, and Adolphustown, to which he gave the name of Kingston. The next year the brave and zealous Darius Dunham was sent to his assistance, and the circuit was divided; one part of it being called CATERAQUI, and the other OSWEGATCHIE. Mr. Dunham, from this time, identified himself with the work in Canada, and soon became its efficient and successful leader.*

Such was the humble beginning of what has since become a great and prosperous work. The brethren in Canada continued in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church till 1828, a period of thirty-seven years; when, by mutual consent, they were set off and became independent. The Canada Conference is now a large, powerful, and highly influential body, whose work extends from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the head waters of Lake Superior, and from the great lakes to Hudson's Bay. It has a college for the education of its rising youth, a Book Concern for the dissemination of a pious literature, and a weekly newspaper for the diffusion of religious intelligence; it has also a membership of nearly 40,000, a very able and efficient corps of preachers, and its finances are in a highly flourishing condition. Methodism has thus done an immense amount for the promotion of Christianity and civilization in those northern regions; and men still linger in the New-York and New-England Conferences who were pioneers in the great work, when it was yet under the care of the Church in the States.

When the lone William Losee was urging his toilsome way up the waters of the Mohawk and across those of Ontario, who could have anticipated such vast results from his mission! and in view of which we may well exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" The New-York Conference has reason to be proud that such are some of the fruits of her labors.

Another measure of this Conference, pregnant with still more important results, was the appointment of Rev. Jesse Lee as a missionary to New-England. Methodism had now been permanently established in our country for more than a quarter of a century, and had already found its way into all the Middle and Southern States, the two Western territories, besides Nova Scotia and the West Indies. New-England alone, the glorious and honored land of the Pilgrims,

* Gorrie's History of Methodism, pp. 119-122.

"the land of story and of song," remained unvisited. But her time had now come; and the man selected by Divine Providence, and chosen by his brethren for this work, was now waiting to enter the field, "already white to the harvest." Two previous attempts had been made to establish it in Boston, the metropolis; one by Richard Boardman, in 1772, and another by William Black, on his return from the Christmas Conference to Halifax, N. S., in 1785; but both, although promising in the commencement, through untoward circumstances, over which no one had any control, had failed. A third and eminently successful attempt was now to be made.

Nearly a half century had now elapsed since the last general revival, the "great awakening" had occurred in New-England, during which, the country had passed through two long and protracted wars; both fraught with highly important consequences, as also that season of intense excitement consequent upon the unsettled state of things existing between the peace of 1783, and the final organization of the Federal government, which happy event had just been consummated. But few were now alive who had witnessed the "great awakening;" but there were many who had heard Whitefield in his subsequent visits, and retained a lively recollection of him; and the traditions of the past were fresh in the minds of the people. The war of the Revolution had utterly overthrown the establishments of the Church of England in the Middle and Southern States, and had almost prostrated the Church with them. But not so in New-England. Her Church establishments of Congregationalism still existed in all their freshness and vigor. The whole of Connecticut and Massachusetts especially, were divided into parishes, corresponding, for the most part, with town lines, in each of which was a Church and settled pastor, supported by law; and this establishment entered into the whole life of the people, not only ecclesiastical, but also social and political; and all other sects were treated as Dissenters. But the Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and some others, had already found a footing on this soil; and why not the Methodists? especially as their doctrines and mode of preaching more nearly resembled those of the old Puritans than almost any of the above.

Dr. Samuel Seabury, a minister of the Church of England, who had been a chaplain in the British army during the late war, and who was a native of Connecticut, at the request of the Episcopal clergy of that state, sailed from New-York for England, to obtain consecration as a bishop, even before the British troops left that city. Not being able to obtain consecration from the English bishops, who were under the control of Parliament, and could not bestow

the desired boon till they were permitted to do so, he proceeded to Scotland, where he obtained it from the non-juring bishops of that kingdom. Returning home, he had organized the diocese of Connecticut, before the rest of the Church had made any important move in this matter; and it was not till this year, (1789,) that the general convention met, and the organization of the Church was finally completed; and it was not till its second meeting, in 1792, that Bishop Seabury and the Diocese of Connecticut were admitted on equal terms, and the unity of that body at last secured.* It was at this juncture that Lee entered Seabury's diocese.

During his journey to Charlestown, S. C., in company with Bishop Asbury and Henry Willis, for the purpose of introducing Methodism into that city, Mr. Lee met with a young man from Massachusetts, then a clerk in a store in Georgetown, in that state, from whom he derived much information respecting the manners and customs of New-England, and the character of its intelligent people. From that time, he felt an irrepressible desire to preach to them the doctrines of free grace, and to plant Methodism upon their rugged soil. During the following years he was constantly moving northward, bringing himself within reach of his desired field, until the last year he traveled a circuit in the northern part of New-Jersey, which threw him into this Conference; which was then the nearest point from which he could reach it; and he was now fully ready for his long-contemplated enterprise. Wesley and Calvin, the Geneva reformer and the Oxford scholar, were now about to meet in the New World, as they had already done in the old.

Mr. Lee had never before visited New-England, nor had he previously made a tour of exploration; neither does it appear that he had an invitation from any person, or that he had even a letter of introduction to any one, who was disposed to lend him the least assistance. His circuit, yet unformed, was called Stamford, from a town situated upon Long Island Sound, in the southwestern part of the State of Connecticut, and where, I suppose, he intended to commence. Albert Van Nostrand was appointed as his colleague, but for some reason, which has never been explained, he never came to the work, and Mr. Lee proceeded alone.

Passing through Stamford, he opened his commission at Norwalk, a town beyond, June 17, 1798. Not being able to obtain a house, nor even permission to preach in an orchard near by, for which he applied, he went into the street, and taking his stand, began to sing, and for which he had an excellent voice; upon which a crowd began to collect. He then prayed with much liberty and fervor;

* Bishop White's Narrative.

of which no marvel, for it was a prayer which has received a most signal answer. He then preached from John iii, 7: "Ye must be born again," a fitting text and subject for such an occasion. The impression thus made upon the minds of his astonished auditors, thus gathered in this novel manner, was impressive and salutary. Some thought that such a man had not visited New-England since the days of Whitefield; in which opinion they were indeed correct. But with characteristic caution, no one offered him the hospitalities of his home. How this must have chilled his noble Virginian soul, used as he was to the frankness and generous hospitality of the South! But this was but the beginning of such scenes. Nothing daunted or discouraged, for he had counted the cost of this labor of love, our zealous evangelist left an appointment at the same place for the next two weeks, and then hastened away to bear the same message of glad tidings to others, who might also treat him in the same manner. Thus he continued to meet with neglect, contempt, insult, and indifference, with an occasional instance of treatment of a contrary character, which was to his soul like an oasis in the desert to an Eastern traveler, or a refreshing shower to a thirsty ground. But he bore his discouragements with a wonderful composure; and with untiring perseverance he persisted through the whole, and formed a large circuit, consisting of the towns of Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, Milford, New-Haven, Derby, Newtown, Reading, Danbury, Canaan, and several other places situated in the southwestern corner of the state.

Fruit, however, began presently to appear. September 26, he formed the first class in the parish of Stratfield, consisting at first of three females. Months elapsed before any one else united with them. The first Methodist meeting-house in New-England was subsequently built in this place, and was called after the name of this indefatigable pioneer, Lee's Chapel. Three months more passed away, during which the rigors of a New-England winter had come on, when, December 28, another class was formed, in the town of Reading, consisting of two persons only, one man and one woman. This man, Mr. Aaron Sandford, subsequently became a preacher, and thus greatly assisted to promote that cause with which he thus identified himself in the helplessness of its infancy. Several other members of his family, of both the second and third generation, have also become preachers; and the whole society of which this little class was the nucleus, has ever been famous for the number of able and zealous ministers which it has produced.

Mr. Lee had thus far toiled alone; but having informed Bishop Asbury of his labors and prospects, he was now about to receive

assistance from the South. While holding a quarterly meeting in Danbury, on the state line between Connecticut and New-York, in February, 1790, Jacob Brush, George Roberts, and Daniel Smith arrived to his help. He had received notice of their coming; and as he beheld them ride up he was filled with inexpressible joy, and exclaimed, "Ye have well done, that ye have come." On the Sabbath, the preaching was attended with great power, and a mighty cry went through the excited assembly. New-England had not seen the like since the days of Edwards and Whitefield, in the time of the "great awakening." But the generation which had then seen those things was now gone, and to the present they were new. Hence, some were much alarmed; and the meeting being in an unfinished dwelling-house, they ran to the end of the loft, and leaped upon the ground. "But in the midst of all the confusion," says Lee, "the Christians were exceedingly happy."

Having received this much needed and much wished for assistance, leaving Messrs. Brush and Roberts to attend to the work which he had already laid out, he took Mr. Smith, and immediately proceeded to form another circuit of two weeks, embracing seventeen appointments, and which extended along the post road from Milford, on the Sound, to Hartford. The Hartford Circuit was also subsequently formed this same year, and which extended from Middletown, in Connecticut, on both sides the river, to Wilbraham, in Massachusetts. It is worthy of remark, that the two oldest literary institutions of their class belonging to us in the United States, namely, Wilbraham Academy and the Wesleyan University at Middletown, are both situated within the bounds of this old circuit, thus formed this first year of Methodist itinerancy in New-England.

About the time that Lee entered Connecticut on the southwest, some preachers, under the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, stationed on some of the circuits north of New-York, also entered it on the northwest; and early in the spring of 1790, they formed the Litchfield Circuit. Who the preachers were who first entered New-England at this point, we are not distinctly informed; but Samuel Q. Talbot and the famous Benjamin Abbot were on the Dutchess Circuit, and John Bloodgood and Samuel Wigton on the Columbia, which were the nearest points from which it could be invaded from that direction. There is presumptive evidence from Mr. Garrettson's Journal, however, that Samuel Wigton, who this year was put in charge of this new circuit, was the man, of whom Mr. Garrettson says, "He is a very acceptable preacher in this circuit, and the Lord owns his labors."

In June, 1790, Mr. Garrettson visited this part of the state, as far

as Hartford, often preaching to large and attentive audiences. His notices of that town shows that Methodism was then much better received in that portion of the state, than that in which Lee was laboring; and that the work was in a more highly prosperous and encouraging condition. But subsequent relative results have not been in accordance with this beginning. Lee's early circuits have yielded the most abundant harvest. From Hartford, Mr. Garretson proceeded on a tour of exploration to Boston, in which he anticipated Lee by a few days, who was *en route* for the same important point. His route lay through the center of Massachusetts; and at Worcester he called on Dr. Bancroft, the father of the historian, and who for many years was one of the leaders of Unitarianism in that state, of which he gives a characteristic account.

After preaching at Boston twice, and endeavoring to make some arrangements for a preacher, on his return he took the road through Providence, where he held forth the word of life in the Church of the Rev. Mr. Snow, Congregational, now the Richmond-street Church. From thence he proceeded through Eastern Connecticut to Hartford, where he attempted to preach; and from thence to his district on the Hudson. In this tour he was accompanied by his black servant Harry, who was a local preacher, and sometimes preached, as well as his master, to wondering and delighted audiences.

Mr. Lee also made two tours of exploration this conference year, one of about a week into Rhode Island, in September, 1789, where he was well received by some pious people belonging to some of the Baptist sects in the southwestern part of that state, by whom he was earnestly pressed to visit them again. The second was in June and July, 1790, in which he passed through Rhode Island, the eastern part of Massachusetts, and proceeded as far as Portsmouth, N. H. In this tour, he was incessant and indefatigable in his labors, preaching in all the principal places in the four states through which he passed on his route. In Boston, both going and returning, he preached to several thousands on the Common, as Whitefield had done before him, just fifty years preceding. This tour was attended with subsequent important consequences, which yet remain, and will, till the heavens are no more.

Now for some of the immediate results. This conference year was unusually long, extending through more than sixteen months. Says Stevens, in his Memorials:

"On Monday, October 4, 1790, Lee entered the Conference in New-York City, to entreat additional laborers for New-England. What could he report of his success, since he left the same body in June of the preceding year? A

tale of as hard fare and as hard labors, doubtless, as any one could relate, except, possibly, the venerable man who sat in the chair, the unequalled Asbury. But not of toils and trials alone could he speak. Much also had been achieved. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts had been quite thoroughly surveyed, for more definite plans of labor. He himself had proclaimed the principles of Methodism in all the then five New-England States. He had removed much prejudice, and put the whole country, more or less, in expectation of future efforts. He had definitely formed three circuits, which, on the Minutes of this year, were called Fairfield, New-Haven, and Hartford, and had explored another in Eastern Massachusetts, which was now called Boston. Another had also been formed in the northwestern part of Connecticut by the preachers on Mr. Garrettson's district, and which was called Litchfield; making five in all. His fellow-laborers also had extended their travels in many directions, and many souls had been awakened and converted, so that nearly two hundred had been united in classes; a remarkable number, if we consider the formidable obstacles which obstructed every movement of the few laborers in the field."—*Memorials*, vol. i, pp. 96, 97.

One chapel also had been erected, before referred to. Never, probably, had so much been accomplished within the limits of a single year; especially if we take into the account the peculiar difficulties to be overcome.

But what are the final results thus far? It is now more than sixty-seven years since Lee, "solitary and alone," entered the Eastern states, and there are now within their bounds, six entire annual conferences, with 676 traveling preachers and 71,474 members; besides part of three other annual conferences, west of the Green Mountains, in Vermont and Massachusetts, and of the Connecticut, within the bounds of that state, enough to make another large conference; making an aggregate, probably, of 800 traveling preachers, and 90,000 members. But this is not all. Persons converted under Methodist labors are to be found in all the evangelical Churches in New-England, and especially in their ministry, in which there are large numbers. New-England Methodism, like others, has also sent forth large numbers to assist in colonizing all the Western States, and to advance the cause of Christianity and civilization toward the setting sun; so that these figures are very far from showing the aggregate results, and the actual good accomplished.

New-England Methodism has also furnished several bishops to the Church, among which are Soule and Hedding; several of its most distinguished literary men, as Fisk and Olin; its first missionaries to Africa, South America, Texas, and Oregon, as well as laborers for all other sections of the work, both at home and abroad. In its literary department it boasts of one University, the oldest in the connection; one Theological School, also the first in the Church; eight first-class academies; one weekly paper, having 11,000 subscribers, and which is conducted with much tact and ability; and one Book Depository, which is doing a flourishing business; and

in the matter of churches and parsonages, it is thought to be in advance of all other sections of our work, while its finances are generally in a healthy condition. And yet men are now living among us who embrace the whole of this within the limits of their own personal history! New-England Methodism is of precisely the same date as our Federal government; and the success of the former is scarcely exceeded by the unrivaled success of the latter.

Such are some of the doings of the New-York Conference of 1789, with their results; and in view of which, we think, it must be admitted, that the session of no one annual conference on this continent exceeds it in historical interest and importance; and if that venerable body had naught else to distinguish her long and eventful career, (and she has much,) these alone would be sufficient to secure her an unfading glory among the annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of many of which she herself is the honored parent.

ART. III.—THOMSON'S ESSAYS, SKETCHES, AND LETTERS.

1. *Educational Essays*, by E. THOMSON, D.D., LL.D., a New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
2. *Letters from Europe*: being Notes of a Tour through England, France, and Switzerland, by E. THOMSON, D.D., LL.D., with a Preface by Bishop Morris. Edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
3. *Sketches, Biographical and Incidental*, by E. THOMSON, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
4. *Essays, Moral and Religious*, by E. THOMSON, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.

WE are happy to introduce these delightful volumes to the readers of the Quarterly. We commenced them with high expectations, and we frankly confess our expectations are fully realized. We intend simply an analytical review of the works, which shall serve the purpose of a directory to minds inquiring after entertainment, instruction, and purification. We cannot review the author's themes. They are too numerous; and then generally it is unnecessary, for one of his peculiarities is to present an appreciative, if not an exhaustive view of the themes he undertakes; and in this high sense to be his own reviewer.

The history of these books may be given in a few words. Dr. Thomson has been an active, discriminating, and industrious mind,

a keen-eyed student, an editor, and a professional educator, for many years; and, of course, he has written, written largely and variously. He has not been a hermit scholar, digging up for himself alone the gems of history, philosophy, and logic. He is a man for society, for other men, for the age, and hence he has published; and his readers are already very numerous. He did not intend to give us his writings in the form of books. Indeed the idea seems never to have entered his mind. If it did it must have been promptly expelled. A superannuated preacher, like most of his class, was under the necessity of finding some means of improving his temporal circumstances; what better could he do for the world, and for himself, than to collect and bring out, in a neat volume, some of Dr. Thomson's essays? His good taste and valuable enterprise were at once vindicated. The reading public examined, approved, wisely called for more, and these four volumes are the noble result.

Dr. Thomson says, "They" (that is, these *Essays, Sketches, and Letters*, published and unpublished, brought forward to make the books,) "should, indeed, have been carefully rewritten before they met the public eye." So they should; for there are a few, *very few*, blemishes of style, which would certainly have been corrected, if the keen eye of the author had passed through the copy once more; and then, some paragraphs might have been more completely "rounded off," and some of the discussions extended and finished, to very great advantage. For the purpose of "weeding," (almost universally the principal purpose of rewriting,) there was literally no necessity whatever for further labor. And this, considering the hurried and incidental manner in which many of these papers must have been written, is truly remarkable. There is no redundancy in Dr. Thomson. *Multum in parvo* could be rightly written all around him, talking, preaching, lecturing, praying, writing, sleeping and all, if there were only margin enough to write it on. So the critic will look in vain for useless expletives, for tautology, or pleonasm in these volumes! Much less than the regrets usually due for hasty publication, will therefore be felt by the most particular friends of Dr. Thomson. Besides, read the whole sentence we began to quote from him: "They should, indeed, have been carefully rewritten before they met the public eye; but such are the writer's engagements, that the only question with him was, whether they should go to press in their present form or not at all." In view of such an alternative, we are highly gratified with the conclusion reached.

Dr. Clark, the accomplished editor of the works before us, says, with great justice: "With unhesitating confidence we claim for the author a place in the brotherhood of the essayists of the age. The

naturalness of his method, the transparent clearness and purity of his style, the aptness and beauty of his illustrations, must challenge commendation from the most critical and exacting. Then, too, impregnating the whole is the moral and religious element, where too many other essayists have sadly failed."

We may have an idea of our author's own views with respect to good writing, and judge of the spirit in which he has prosecuted his work:

"That which smells most of the lamp is not really the most elaborate. A celebrated critic pronounced the finest writing to be such as a reader would imagine exceedingly easy to equal, and yet such, that whoever should attempt to imitate it, would perspire over his task. It is the half-finished production which leaves the marks of labor."

"Not a single page of fine writing was ever produced without much intellectual effort. A solitary sentence may express the result of years of thought. The harvest may be gathered in a day, but plowing, and planting, and growth require time."—*Educational Essays*, pp. 22, 23.

It is certain that the books we are reviewing contain ample evidence that the author has thoroughly applied these stern rules to himself. Another characteristic fact appears in "America and England:"

"I write without fear of parties or love of praise. I respect myself too well not to say what I think, and know mankind too well to suppose that all excellences are in ourselves and all faults in our rivals."—*Letters*, p. 201.

And yet nothing can exceed the candor with which he acknowledges the merits and reviews the defects of other people:

"I was less struck than I supposed I should be, in England, with the contrast between wealth and poverty, the cottage of the poor and the palace of the rich, the beggar on crutches and the prince on silver wheels. There is contrast enough, to be sure, more, doubtless, than a stranger would be likely to see, but less, I really think, than existed ten or twenty years ago. Indeed, laboring men are doing well, if they are industrious and attentive; and when we compare rent, price of provisions, taxes, and wages in England and in this country, at present, we can see but little if any motive for English mechanics to emigrate hither, unless it be with a view to gain a wider sphere for their children."—*Letters*, p. 126.

The range of topics is ample. It is, indeed, remarkable, that amid very engrossing professional engagements, the author has found time to examine so many subjects, and has made himself competent to present them with so much scope of intelligence, maturity of thought, and finish of style.

We have here the vast subject of education, developed theoretically and practically, in several very important papers, entitled, "General Education," "The Path to Success," "Mental Symmetry," "Inaugural Address," "Religious Ideas the Basis of Education,"

"Moral Education," "Miscellaneous Reading," "Necessity of Colleges," "Hints to Youth," "Female Education," and "Higher Education." These articles brought together, would make a highly instructive manual for teachers and students. They present no wild or revolutionary schemes. They are soundly conservative with respect to the classical basis of scholarship, insisting upon the old fundamentals of the course, and yet highly progressive in the views presented, and in the spirit and educational enterprise which pervade them.

We have numerous philosophical papers, showing a penetrating study of mind and matter, and presenting much valuable instruction, with the advantage of a highly discriminating analysis and great clearness of thought and expression. We mention for example, "Close Thought," "Extremes in Philosophy," "Logic in its Relations to Medical Science," "Originality," and "Religious Excitement." If Dr. Thomson cannot be termed a philosopher in the highest sense of the word, he is certainly a philosophical thinker, a clear-sighted student of philosophy, and a very useful teacher of philosophy. His readers will not discover the elements of any original system scattered through his writings, and yet they will find the good, old settled principles of physical and metaphysical science clearly apprehended, forcibly, though not formally stated, and turned to most happy practical uses.

The didactic portions of these works are extensive and of the utmost importance to readers, especially the young. Dr. Thomson teaches admirably. He shows a profound knowledge of the structure and difficulties of the student's mind, and cultivates a congeniality and sympathy with it, which must make his lecture-room a perfect paradise to the poor, confounded, bewildered, half-discouraged pupil; and not less, to the energized, enthusiastic aspirant for college honors and future distinction. Happily for the times, he does not confine his instructions to the lecture-room. He enters the field of the world, and at this hour may reckon his pupils by the thousand, while, in our humble opinion, they are destined to increase as time advances, for there is much in these volumes for which we claim classic permanence and power. The reader will find instruction scattered liberally through the whole series; but we refer particularly to "Educational Essays" and "Moral and Religious Essays." "Self Knowledge" may be mentioned as a specimen.

There is very little that is strictly controversial in these books; and yet there is a strong and enticing logic running entirely through them. Dr. Thomson argues without pretension, but with irresistible force. Take, for instance, "Inspiration of the Bible," and the

"Discourse on Skepticism." Let any candid man, however infidel in his tendencies, read these discussions, and he *must* say religion is true, it is Divine. We are gratified, however, to say, that no one need avoid them for fear of dryness or excessively hard labor. Everything here is easy. There are a sprightliness and vigor in the severest argument, which makes it highly readable; and then entertainment is so profusely distributed, that no sensible reader can easily tire in the perusal.

Description is, however, Dr. Thomson's forte, if he has any. Read his "Letters," and say if you have failed to get a distinct conception of anything which he has attempted to exhibit. Character, particularly, he paints with the hand of a master. For critical analysis and racy, spirited movement, we point to "Western Character;" for graphic skill and power, as well as beauty and elegance of style, we will turn out his "Russel Bigelow" against the world; while for moving pathos and touching tenderness, we know of nothing better than "Mrs. Martha McCabe," and "Rev. Thomas Cooper," in the English language.

We must, however, hasten to a more specific estimate of our author in his chosen field. The range of study and thought evinced by these discussions gives ample evidence of competency for his task. For a historical sweep, we refer the reader to the introduction to "Hugh Latimer and his Times." We have not room for so extended an extract.

We have incidentally brought out, in various places, the doctor's appreciation of the fine arts. Take the following:

"The artist may mold matter into forms of enrapturing beauty, and make us feel their elevating and purifying influences; but what is the marble Moses of a Michael Angelo, or the cold statue of his living Christ, compared to the embodiment of the Hebrew law and the spirit of Jesus in the sculpture of a holy life? Goethe said, that he was not half himself who had never seen the Juno in the Rondanini palace at Rome. Well, then, may we say, that he knows not to what race he belongs, who has never gazed upon such a man as Bigelow."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 86.

"My attention was fixed to a painting of the dead Christ, which struck me as equal, if not superior, to anything I had seen. I gazed till I almost fancied that a fresh corpse was before me. I congratulated my taste not a little, when I was informed that it was one of Benjamin West's best productions."—*Letters*, p. 89.

Numerous passages show much skill in criticism. We give the following as specimens:

"The love of beauty is usually associated with the capacity to reproduce it; that is taste, this is art. Mr. Curry's art was not proportioned to his taste; it manifested itself in the sweet music of his flute and the sweeter strains of his verse; the former is lost in the empty air, the latter will float down the river of time."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 38.

"There is a distinction between the fancy and the imagination; the former gives us airy shapes, the latter gives us likenesses; fancy is concerned with trivial objects, imagination with grand, spiritual, eternal things. In long settled countries, where multitudes are reared in coal pits, or confined to ditches, or factories, or rarely pass beyond the walls of their native cities, or, if they do, it is to visit some thickly-populated graveyard, or some forsaken castle, the *fancy* may be vigorous; but in the forest of the new world, there is but little chance for hobgoblins or apparitions. Man walks abroad freely amid the works of God, works in all the wild magnificence of nature. He is in the midst of broad plains, majestic streams; on every hand he meets with some object fitted to furnish him with elevated ideas, and to arouse into healthful and vigorous action the best powers of his mind; withal, he is not so hampered but that he can allow his mind free scope in depicting its own creations. It was under these circumstances that the grandest poetry of the world was produced."—*Ibid.*, p. 224.

We shall run no risk in ascribing to our author in the very presence of his own discriminating criticism, a pure imagination, a chaste fancy, and a cultivated taste. We may, indeed, say of him, what he says of another: "Mr. Curry's chief characteristic was his taste. His mind was in harmony with nature; he had a relish for all beauty. To him it was not in vain that God painted the landscape green, cast the channels of the streams in graceful curves, lighted up the arch of night, and turned the gates of the day on golden hinges amid the anthems of a grateful world." Dr. Thomson's chief characteristic is his taste; but we must show that if he is not a poet, it is certainly because he chooses a more useful vocation. Hear him say:

"I have hailed that glorious sun at his rising, and stood entranced in his setting beams; I have looked up to heaven at midnight, and mused on the moon and stars, when none but God was with me. I have sat silent and solitary in my closet, and thought over, one by one, my Saviour's miracles; I have pictured to my mind the Almighty molding the earth of the fresh creation into a human form, and breathing the breath of life into the nostrils of Adam; but never has my heart been so agitated as when I have thought of Jehovah coming forth, at the blast of the last trumpet, to summon together the scattered dust of the corpse and mold it into a body spiritual, incorruptible, immortal, radiant as the sun, and fashioned after the glorious body of the God-man."—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 49.

"As the profoundest philosophy of ancient Rome and Greece lighted her taper at Israel's altar, so the sweetest strains of the pagan muse were swept from harps attuned on Zion's hill."—*Ibid.*, p. 35.

We insist upon another example, as we are probably making an original claim for a man who has never, so far as we know, written anything but delicious prose. Of Otway Curry he says:

"It may be matter of astonishment that he was not more original, more national; that he did not give American ideas in American forms; that he did not have more vigor of thought, more fire of passion, making his pentameters ring on the soul like the ax on the elm; that he did not give voice to the forgotten generations over whose graves he walked, and immortality to the herald-

ry that he turned up with his plow; that he did not rive pride to the heart as the northern blast oft rives the oaks of the hill-top, and girdle sensuality as the prairie on fire girdles the flying traveler; that he did not, with the inspiration of a heaven-born poet, make Niagara silence Atheism, and the floods of the Alleghanies clap their hands to God; that he did not commission the thunder to pronounce the doom of slavery, and the lightning to melt the chains of the captured fugitive that was borne by his door; that he did not make the mountains that God lifted around him proclaim liberty, and the broad streams that he found at their feet preach bounty. But this is the complaint against all American poetry, that it is not American. We look for wild grass, and lo! clover; for the mastodon laving his sides in the Mississippi, and lo! behemoth 'trusteth he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.'

"The songs of our lakes and plains are yet to be sung. The hopes and aspirations of the New World are yet to be voiced; and sure as the noblest lands and inland waters that the sun ever saw, lie spread out between our ocean coasts, and the best races of men have gathered to them, so sure is the noblest poetry that shall ever entrance delighted mortals to rise up from our valleys."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 39.

We shall fearlessly say, that the man who wrote this extract, *can*, if he will, write the poetry he describes.

Sprightliness, with genuine gayety and good-humor, will be found giving life and interest to these volumes. We have marked thirty-three passages, which show this admirable quality of a popular writer. See the frolic of Western life dropping from his joyous pen, and dancing on the paper before his eyes. Here are

"Hunting, fishing, rolling bees, chopping rails, shooting matches, quiltings, pumpkin parings, singing schools, and sleigh riding. When behind a fleet horse you have a well-painted sleigh, and by your side the beautiful object of your rival's love, wrapped up with you in the buffalo robe, while music of bells prevents your being overheard, and you start for the woods, you are upon the borders of paradise. Happy if in displaying your extraordinary horsemanship, you do not overset everything, and thrice happy if, when you return, the old folks have kindled the back-log that has been so long drying in the parlor fire-place, and set out the apples and the doughnuts."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 217.

The suggestive character of Dr. Thomson's writings is a capital merit. We have found a large number of passages which are windows to extensive and important views. He does not, for instance, take up a large space to show you the public interest in the reading-rooms of the British Museum; but simply tells you that admission is by ticket, and that the tickets "are held by about forty thousand persons at present!" He would give you an idea of the library, and so says, "the catalogue is in three hundred volumes folio." He wishes to show you the coal trade for London, and this is his method: "They say that upward of forty thousand persons and five thousand horses are engaged dayly in supplying it."

We now turn our attention to the style of the author. The examination must relate to three particulars: the essential qualities

of a good style, the characteristics of his style, and the use made of ornaments.

The essential qualities of a good style, according to the rhetoricians, are correctness, perspicuity, vivacity, euphony, and naturalness; and we claim them all for Dr. Thomson. The degree of each must be judged by the scholarly reader of all these volumes. We say *scholarly*, because this kind of criticism belongs to scholars; but lest we should be misunderstood, we add, that all the advantages of these essential qualities are made available to the common reader.

We regard the style of Dr. Thomson as correct in a high degree, and yet we have admitted there are blemishes in it. We may refer to the word "spots," (*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 18.) "*Taste the fragrance of living flowers*," (*Letters*, p. 14.) "*Little inclined for the fine arts*." The word "plunge," (*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 337.) The word "heaves," (*Ibid.*, p. 345.) There are a few instances of what we deem improprieties of expression; such as the use made of "form without the power," (*Letters*, p. 30.) "Newton, rising on the wings of his ascended master, had swept the compass of the universe," (*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 243.)

In these particular instances, a simple re-reading would, doubtless, have led to correction; but in all fairness we must say, that the instances of careless writing will be found less in these four volumes than in almost any other within our acquaintance, of the same number of pages.

But correctness is not a mere negative quality. Errors in language, improprieties of expression, barbarisms and solecisms, must of course be avoided; but the right choice of words for the best expression of the idea, the right position of qualifying terms, and of clauses expressing circumstances, must be included in true rhetorical correctness. For examples, we might open Dr. Thomson's works almost at random. Read the following. Speaking of the Bible, he says:

"It has a self-perpetuating and multiplying power. Infidels have written books: where are they? Where is Porphyry, Julian? Fragments of them there are; but we are indebted even for this to Christian criticism. Where is Hume, Voltaire, Bolingbroke? It requires the world's reprieve to bring a copy out of the prison of their darkness. Where is the Bible? Wherever there is light. Speaking the language of heaven in seven score and three of the tongues of earth, and giving the word of God by forty millions of voices, to five times as many million ears, and in tongues spoken by six hundred millions of men; and having swept its path of storm through all time, it still walks triumphant, despite earth's dying malice and hell's eternal wrath, and like the apocalyptic angel, though it wraps its mantle of cloud around it, calmly looks out upon the world with a face, as it were the sun encircled with the rainbow."
—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 97.

Our intelligent reader will perceive that we might use this magnificent passage for other purposes as well, but we ask attention to it as a specimen of the highest style of correctness. Look at it a little closely. There was a chance to choose between the singular and the plural in the sentence, "Where is Porphyry, Julian? Where is Hume?" etc. By using the plural, the author would have just missed the design of securing the reader's glance at the disappearance of each of these great teachers of infidelity. Correctness in the figurative use of language, implies a higher style of literary taste. See the word "light," in the answer to the question, "Where is the Bible?" and "speaking the language of heaven," as a method of gracefully rising to the boldness of personification. "Voices," "tongues," "walks," "mantle," and several others will show the skill required by correctness in this higher sense.

Perspicuity is fundamental to good style, and this is undoubtedly an eminent characteristic of everything from the pen of Dr. Thomson. His sentences are transparent as the light. Who can have any doubt as to the meaning of a line or a word in such writing as this?

"Does the excited heart need direction as to the manner of its pulsations? As well teach the earth how to move in her orbit. You *cannot* if you *would*, direct. As well attempt to give laws to the earthquake or the volcano, or learn the exploding magazine *how* it shall expand. The excited heart scorns to think of rhetoric or logic. They *dare* not speak to her; but sit mute and enraptured spectators of her motions. They cease to be *teachers*, and become silent and humble, but enchanted *worshippers*. What was the eloquence of Demosthenes? The outbursting of an overflowing soul. What the eloquence of Logan? The plaints of a wounded heart. What the eloquence of Tecumseh? The eruptions of pent-up revenge and indignation. There is no rhetoric like that of the stimulated spirit."

We wish our readers next to judge of the vivacity of our author's style. See the distinctness, the vividness, the speaking power of some of his bounding sentences:

"What gave Newton the boldness to bound upward from the tree to the mountain-top, from the mountain-top to the moon, from the moon to the furthest planet in space? what but the *faith* that he was traveling through the dominions of *one* monarch, over which *one* law was outstretched?"—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 25.

"How mighty are the passions of the soul, how strong its hate! When once it penetrates an object, its hold is unshaken. The principle that binds the planets lets go its grasp in the wreck of dissolving nature; but mortal hate rises victorious over the dissolution of all things. Survey its love. The shock of battle, the loss of all things, the flames of the martyr's stake, death itself, which destroys everything physical, cannot shake it, for 'it is stronger than death.' Behold its ambition. Earth is lost in it, as a drop in the ocean, the universe cannot fill it. Measure now the depths of its deathless passions, and then all the depth of its capacity to suffer. O for some fountain to cool its passions! O for some

balm to heal its wounds! O for some anodyne to moderate its pulsations Religion leads to a fountain filled with blood drawn from Immanuel's veins."—*Ibid.*, pp. 43, 44.

Euphony depends upon the choice of words and the structure of sentences. It may become a fault if preferred to sense or force of expression. Indeed, this is generally the result of making it a cherished object. The words are studied and changed, and the sentences adjusted and readjusted to the ear as well as to the tongue, by an undue proportion of liquids, and by poetic measure, until the nerve and fire of the writing wholly disappear. Nothing can be more offensive to good literary taste. But the style of this author seems to be naturally smooth. We find some of the most vigorous sentences delightfully soft and harmonious:

"Sleep and death are brothers. How do we bless the one when rising renovated from the couch, we 'hail yon holy light'. How shall we bless the other, when morning comes to the graves, and we hail the eternal sunbeams, 'thy brother shall rise again.'"—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 206.

"A luxurious melancholy chastened his spirit and mellowed the light which it reflected."—*Ibid.*, p. 37.

Of the followers of Wesley, Dr. Thomson says:

"The green earth was their carpet; the clouds of heaven their curtains; the hill-top often served them at once for a pulpit and a pillow; the dews moistened their morning and evening sacrifices; and the rude storm at times received upon its bosom the impress of their fervor."—*Ibid.*, 249.

Naturalness is opposed to affectation and incongruities of thought and expression. It is impossible when a writer's ambition is above his ability, and his plan demands more intelligence than he possesses, or more elaboration and research than he is willing to bestow; and neither of these is true of our author. He always appears to be *at home*, and if it is the result of art, he certainly has the art to conceal it. See how he moves his pen around among the generally unknown facts of history and mythology, as if he had been brought up with them from a child:

"Asia worships the true God, but has false conceptions of him. This is the land of dreamy intellect, of morbid sensibilities, of stationary civilizations. We see the conception of God variously modified in its different nations, and we mark, as we pass over them, a ripening of the human mind in proportion to the approach to a right and perfect conception of the Almighty. Lowest in the scale, perhaps, we may place the Brahmins. They acknowledge a supreme God, Brahm, but they put him afar off, and ascribe creation, preservation, and destruction to inferior divinities. As might be expected, they overthrow his altars, neglect his temple, and leave him nothing but the name, while they give their chief adoration to the God Vishnu and his nine incarnations, of which Juggernaut is one. What is their intellectual state? Next comes Buddhism, which overspreads farther India, the Chinese empire, and

Japan. This is a reformation of Brahminism. While it recognizes an eternal First Cause, it represents him as reposing in profound slumber, from which he only now and then awakes to send down some perfected spirits, that they may make certain necessary alterations in the universe."

The author then shows the precise effect of the approach to theism upon the intellectual and moral development of the pantheistic followers of Confucius, and proceeds:

"Passing by the Sintoism of Japan, and the Shaminism of Siberia, nations a little below those which we have just left, both in their ideas of God and their mental character; and also the Guebus of Persia and of the Western coast of India, the remains of the fire worshipers, we come to Nanikism, a mixture of Mohammedanism with Brahminism, professed by the Sheiks of India, who put forth an activity, energy, and intrepidity, such as might be expected from the brighter beams of the godhead, which the infusion of Mohammedanism secures."—*Edu. Essays*, pp. 224, 225.

The author then goes on with one of those sweeps of condensed information, for which he is so distinguished, touching at every prominent point, and in the compass of some half dozen pages, lays the whole world, in its current religious facts, under contribution to show "that a nation's idea of God denotes its position in the scale of intelligence; and that it gives the type to an individual's and a nation's mental character," and all with such charming ease, as to give a high degree of pleasure both to the learned and the unlearned reader. This is naturalness.

But we must inquire what are the distinguishing characteristics of Dr. Thomson's style.

It is easy, and in a very special sense idiomatic. It is thoroughly English, and requires no labor to understand it; and yet it cannot be described as conversational. The words are too choice, and the general structure of the style too elevated. It is exceedingly like Dr. Thomson's extemporaneous speaking. Those who have heard him when delivering a sermon or speech, and giving utterance to the most interesting, impressive, and elaborate truths, will find here the same chaste simplicity, and hardly a particle more of condensed variety, elegant precision, and soul-inspiring eloquence. Frequently has he been heard extemporizing, when he did not seem to try, in just as pure and elevated a strain as this:

"Would you see above the stars, you must come to the Bible; there is left for you no other stream to convey you from material worlds, no other ferryman than faith. What though we outfly the eagle, outpush the whirlwind, outdig the earthquake, outsmite the lightning; we do but move mere matter. What is the spirit of the age but an imprisoned Samson, working with terrific power, but eyeless sockets, in the mills. Blessed be God! the Bible is still, to some extent, felt, and here and there is a soul with eyes, looking into the tents of angels."—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 23.

The reader now understands in what sense we would call this style idiomatic and easy. It is not labored; if it is, the labor is all labored out of it.

We present one more example which is exactly in point, one of the finest we have ever read. The reader shall have the whole of it, and should, if it were much longer:

"Mother! How many delightful associations cluster around that word! The innocent smiles of infancy, the gambols of boyhood, and the happiest hours of riper years! When my heart aches at the world's wickedness, and my limbs are weary and my feet bloody, traveling the thorny path of life, I am accustomed to sit down on some mossy stone, and, closing my eyes on real scenes, to send my spirit back to the days of early life. I sing my lullaby, or watch my goldfinch, or catch my rabbits, or watch the streets of my native city, or look over the green; I hear the shrill bugle, and view the prancing cavalry, or go down to the dockyard, or walk along the sea-shore, or prattle with my brother, and kiss my sweet sister; I feel afresh my infant joys and sorrows, till my spirit recovers its tone, and is willing to pursue its journey. But in all these reminiscences my mother rises. If I seat myself upon my cushion, it is at her side; if I sing, it is to her ear; if I walk the walls or the meadows, my little hand is in my mother's and my little feet keep company with hers; if I stand and listen to the piano, it is because my mother's fingers touch the key; if I survey the wonders of creation, it is my mother who points out the object of my admiring attention; if a hundred cannon pronounce a national salute, I find myself clinging to her knees. When my heart bounds with its best joy, it is because at the performance of some task, or the recitation of some verses, I receive a present from her hand. There is no velvet so soft as a mother's lap, no rose so lovely as her smile, no path so flowery as that imprinted with her footsteps."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 338.

This style is concise in distinction from diffuse. There is a rigid economy of words and unusual success in condensation. It is remarkable as a combination of severe precision with a high degree of ornament. It is claimed, we are aware, that a style technically concise cannot be ornate, and it is true so far as the mere glitter of ornament is concerned: but we have here the most perfect compactness with the richest beauty of figures. This combination will fully appear in the examples we shall give, under the head of ornaments of style. Just at this place, we wish to present a few of the numerous instances of condensed thought and expression, with which these volumes abound. They are aphorisms of rare beauty and value; and if, in any instance, the thought is an old one, the expression is always original:

"Every human act is sublime, for its vibrations are eternal."—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 54.

"No man can see truth through a gold bandage."—*Ibid.*, p. 62.

"Look, therefore, at the creed through the Bible, not the Bible through the creed."—*Ibid.*, p. 66.

"We saw one distressed about the roots of 'Gog and Magog!' He lost the root of the *matter* in the root of the *words*."—*Ibid.*, p. 67.

"The Gospel, by the baptism, the eucharist, and the Sabbath, has blazed its way through from the resurrection morning."—*Ibid.*, p. 94.

"Let the poet look out upon the plain or the mountain, the gorgeous sunset, or the thundering cataract, but let *me* look upon a good man."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 86.

"When the flood of affliction came, he looked not at the *waters*, but at the *bridge*."—*Ibid.*, p. 198.

"Let us not look only through the windows of heaven for purity; it may be found on this side the gate of pearls."—*Ibid.*, p. 207.

"If children were not doctored out of the world, they would be as likely to live as other young animals."—*Ibid.*, p. 368.

"Verily it would be hard to prove human depravity from grave stones."—*Letters*, p. 157.

Of Homer, the author says, "His soul kept house in the universe."—*Edu. Essays*, p. 28.

Our readers will agree with us that this is a string of pearls. It might be made much longer did our limits permit. The style we are examining is forcible, but seldom vehement. The reader feels its force, as the views and arguments of the author carry him directly onward, as by an irresistible current. There is sufficient excitement for force, but not so high a degree as to produce vehemence. In many of these discussions you have spinal compactness, tightness of articulation, and flexibility, and yet you are thrilled again and again by the power of thought and expression, arising directly from the author's own mind. Read the books for numerous examples like the following:

"To one capable of appreciating moral beauty, sin is discord, disorder, deformity; horrible is a boy growing into a villain, or a full-grown villain maturing into a devil; beautiful, a youth rising up to virtuous manhood, or a man ripening into an angel of God. As a mansion forsaken of man and occupied with serpents and wild beasts, so, to a pure eye, is a sinful soul."—*Biog. Sketches*, p. 22.

"If you cut a gash in a man's head, you may heal it; but you can never rub out, nor wash out, nor cut out the scar. It may be a witness against you in his corpse; still it may be covered by the coffin or hidden in the grave; but then it is not till decomposition shall take place, that it shall *entirely* disappear. But if you smite a soul, the scar remains; no coffin or grave shall hide it; no revolution, not even the upturning of the physical universe, shall obliterate it; no fire, not even the eternal furnaces of hell shall burn it out. This thought, while it awakens fear, arouses hope."—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 28.

Many examples of an elevated style may be gathered from these works; but as this is not a distinguishing characteristic, we shall not detain the reader. So far as originality, strength of thought, and fervor extend, they are here to furnish the basis of an elevated style; but the full, flowing, and formal sentences, and stately grandeur of Robert Hall, Dr. Chalmers, or Dr. Channing, are not claimed for our author.

Neat and elegant are the appropriate terms to describe the most

marked characteristics of this style. The turns of expression are sprightly and spirited, and faults are, to an unusual extent, carefully avoided. It is therefore neat. In words, sentences, and ornaments, it is choice and select, and the imagery is exceedingly fine. It is, therefore, elegant. One example must suffice. He was in Westminster Abbey at the choral service :

"The gorgeous building, the solemn associations, the monuments of the dead, the multitude of the living, the chants of the choir, the notes of the organ, and grand current of liturgical thought on which my soul was willingly borne, were too much for me. I seemed to sit in the mouth of the world's sepulcher, while the reanimated dead were chanting themselves up to the resurrection morning."—*Letters*, p. 74.

We may now turn our attention to the ornaments used by this author. The simile is not Dr. Thomson's favorite figure, and yet very fine examples of it may be found; for instance :

"Dr. Houghton was distinguished rather for intensity than power of mental action. He differed from Franklin as the galvanic trough of many small plates differs from the calorimotor of two large ones. The one goes through obstacles with a shock, the other calmly consumes them."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 139.

The following exquisitely beautiful passage is taken from the sketch of "Mrs. Martha McCabe:"

"She achieved her triumphs, but in her own way, the way of exalted womanhood. She could shine upon the heights of prosperity; not, however, with the maddened and fitful flames of the volcano, but with the calm, steady, and peaceful light of the beacon. She could descend to the vale of adversity; but not like the 'hell of waters,' that dashes from shelf to shelf of the frightful precipice, and sends up from the abyss an everlasting roar; but rather as the ribbon-like stream that glides, with a gentle music, over the edge of the rock, to light up the chasm with a shower of diamonds, and span it with an arch of rainbows."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 173.

Sprightly metaphors are quite frequent, and may generally be considered models of their kind :

"One false premise, inconsiderable in itself, often vitiates a whole volume of valid reasoning. Such a book may be compared to a long and strong chain rolled up, having, however, one broken link. There are two ways of finding the fracture: the usual one is to examine each link till you come to it. Bigelow fixed a weight to one end and walked off with the other, thus separating the fragments so far that his audience could stand between them."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 92.

Of "the deformed maniac," the doctor says :

"It would seem that the spiritual lightning which had riven his soul, had been unable to accomplish its errand without twisting his body into zigzag lines, to mark its course."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 384.

We find occasionally a mixed metaphor, which produces confusion in the view, and is, therefore, to be condemned. The

following, though in many respects a very fine passage, is evidently faulty :

"His vigorous frame was worn down by slow decay. For years he sat upon the banks of Jordan, his Ebenezer by his side, his eucharist song on his lips, the perfumes of Canaan in his breath, and the city of God in his eye. Suddenly, after fifty-six years of life, he was ferried across the stream, (*ferried* across the stream, my dear doctor! This was Jordan, not the Styx!) in April, 1850, and so gently, that he seemed translated to Mount Zion, without being moved from his earthly repose."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 189.

Ferried across, and staying on this side, translated to a mountain, and remaining where he was, must be too many things for one sentence. Such a chance at the doctor is rare. We cannot be blamed for using it when we have it.

Frequent classical allusions occur. They are not profound, but always pertinent and strongly illustrative :

"He who, too idle to think, sits and sighs, and invokes the muses, will drink the *Lethæan* sooner than the *Pierian* spring."—*Edu. Essays*, p. 23.

"If you, like the fabled father of men, and king of gods, nourish beneath the membranes of your brain a full-armed, perfect goddess, you will find that you shall suffer throes within the cranium, as he is represented to have done, and need the skill and the ax of Vulcan to open your skull, before that virgin shall spring and dance the *Pyrrhic* dance, and strike her shield, and brandish her spear, and show her blue eye, and breathe her martial fury, and enrapture ancient proficients in virtue and wisdom, with the depth of her counsels."—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

"As *Aeneas*, in the temple of *Juno*, when he sees *Ilioneas* burst the cloud with which his goddess mother had inwrapped him, so he, when he meets his arguments, seems 'to shuffle off his mortal coil,' and now divine odors breathe from his lips, and the light of heaven flashes from his eye."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 91.

"The orator, like *Hippomenes*, may scatter golden apples in his path, when they give him advantage in the race, though not, like *Atalanta*, pick up ornaments when he should be pressing to the goal."—*Ibid.*, p. 98.

In Scriptural allusions *Dr. Thomson* is generally very happy. Take a few instances. In his "Unanimity among Christians," he holds up to proper scorn attempts "to make the truth attractive to the tasteful and the fashionable;" he calls poetry to account for "assuming that the Divine Being needed the aid of phantasy to justify his ways to man." He exclaims, "Behold absurdity married to recklessness!" And after a beautiful classical allusion, he says:

"What of Sacred Poetry? That is an exception. *David*, *Isaiah*, etc., like the angel that appeared to *Manoah*, ascended upward in the altar flames."—*Mor. and Rel. Essays*, p. 71.

The following allusion, in the form of simile, is exceedingly beautiful. Of *Bigelow* he says :

"He was content to employ his reason in ascertaining what the Bible teaches. Generally his departures from this great luminary were short, and only to blast

some refuge of lies behind which the sinner was endeavoring to hide. Like Moses in Midian, he lingered not in the desert, but led his flock to the mount of God."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 89.

Again, in his favorite character, "Bigelow as a Preacher," the reader will find the author at home in the following eloquent passage and highly illustrative allusion :

"Fancy the convinced infidel in his audience. The preacher turns his eye upon him, watches him, turns every stream from which his soul dips into blood, animates the dust he raises before his eyes into torturing insects, sends locusts before him, to eat up every green thing, adds plague to plague. Presently the thunder peals, the lightning flashes; the infidel feels the darkness on his eyeballs, and is compelled to let the truth he holds a prisoner 'have free course and be glorified.' A pause ensues, and the congregation, on their feet, look with sympathy and prayer for a converted man."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 93.

Personification is not frequent in these essays, and yet it occurs just when the impassioned interest most appropriately suggests it. In "Western Character," he vindicates the genuine son of the prairie from the charge of extravagance, and then turns upon his critics in this fashion :

"But because light travels round the earth from east to west, the east has always borne itself toward the west with assurance bordering upon *impudence*. She assumes, by her dictum, to set up one and put down another; as well might the poles sit in judgment on the equator, or the line rise up and condemn the tropics."—*Biog. and Inc. Sketches*, p. 225.

We stake the following against the world. It is an apostrophe and a personification of the bolder kind. We can only begin the passage, and give our readers, who will certainly insist upon seeing the books, an idea of the luxury which awaits them :

"Glorious old tower! for nearly a thousand years hast thou wrapped thy shoulders in thy mantle of clouds, and hailed the rejoicing sun, and communed with the silent stars; thou hast heard ten thousand thunders burst upon thy head, and seen twice ten thousand lightnings flash around thy hoary locks; thou hast looked out upon unnumbered storms lashing the rock-bound coast thou guardest, and often felt the rumbling of the distant earthquake; thou bearest on thy bosom a chapter in the history of man, and a leaf in the history of God, and still thou standest akin to his everlasting hills. Great abstract of the past and index to the future."—*Letters*, pp. 140, 141.

We have accomplished the work assigned us, and it has given us great satisfaction. We commenced with no intention of compelling a favorable verdict. We have simply used the candor which is due both to the author and to the public, and have felt it to be a trial of our courage, to write the facts as we have found them. If any of our readers censure judgments we have expressed, we are satisfied it will be those who do not study the examples we have given, or read the books.

ART. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

1. *The Sabbath*: an Examination of the Six Texts commonly adduced from the New Testament, in proof of a Christian Sabbath. London.
2. *Septenary Institutions*: being Article VIII, Westminster Review, for October, 1856.

PHILOSOPHICAL beliefs do not generally influence our actions; religious creeds almost invariably do. Opinions in physics or metaphysics, which lead to conclusions at variance with truth and nature, cannot affect us practically; but opinions, of a like kind, in religion, are most frequently deplorably illustrated in the life; for *here* it is, indeed, true, that "as a man thinks so is he." It follows that in the formation of opinions, which bear upon our religious faith, we should be all the more deliberate and careful. There is one question, indeed, as to which our convictions may be almost said to be our practice, and it is that of the proper observance of the Lord's Day. Concerning this we find two extreme beliefs, one of which would lead to the entire abrogation of the institution of a Sabbath; while the practical effects of the other are, perhaps, best exhibited in the records of Scottish legislation, of which the cruelty and injustice are exceeded only by the absurdity. On the one hand, Sabbath observance is enforced with Jewish rigor, and the letter of the ceremonial law harshly shrouds the spiritual beauty and liberty of the Gospel; on the other, this liberty is pleaded in support of a most brutalizing slavery, far worse than the former. If Sunday be only another Jewish Sabbath, then is it to be observed according to the strict Mosaic regulations, and the physical inaction therein prescribed become the distinguishing feature of the day, for us as well as for the ancient Jews. But God says: "I will have mercy and *not sacrifice*;" *this* is the evangel. We must keep the day, if at all, not as a sacrificial work, but as a day of thanksgiving and of prayer. We must "stand fast in the liberty" of the Gospel, but not make that liberty an "occasion to the flesh."

The first mention in history of a seventh-day rest, is found, of course, in the second and third verses of the second chapter of Genesis, in these words:

"On the seventh (sixth?) day God ended his work, which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God *blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.*"

This has been naturally held as implying an obligation upon men, God's intelligent creatures, to observe that day with some distinc-

tion. If such an obligation did accrue, it must have been in some way announced to men, and this observance must have been, in the earliest ages of the world, universal. Again, if the universality can be established, the argument is good for the Divine origin of the institution. It is known that the Jews, Assyrians, Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, and the Indians, (including the Buddhist Chinese* and Japanese,) made use of the septenary week. The author of the second article mentioned in our rubric, replies to this, that "nations bordering upon each other, have often had analogous customs, but the countries named have never been a rule for the whole of the Eastern world, nor for other parts of the globe." Yet this disproves nothing; for it is sufficient for the argument, to show the universality of the custom *among the most ancient peoples*, whom those above enumerated are admitted to be. In the course of ages, it is reasonably to be expected that, from various causes, such as the opinions of authoritative lawgivers, or the exigences of situation or employment, this exact division of time should be lost. The author just mentioned, accounts for the antiquity and generality of septenary institutions by the lunar changes, which are so obtrusive even to the earliest and rudest astronomical observation. At the same time, he asserts that this generality cannot be said to embrace half the population of the globe, and that other divisions of time, such as weeks of five days, are of equal antiquity. The inconsistency in which he involves himself is evident; for, to invoke the more artificial divisions observed by the Aztecs, or by the ancient Greeks, as coëval in origin with the week of seven days, is wholly to ignore the simplicity and rudeness of the age, which is held to have adopted the latter, because most conspicuously suggested. We readily escape such confusion by the easy explanation that God appointed a division of time corresponding to obvious natural changes, an appointment thus upheld in its observance by most evident and abiding phenomena.

It is clear, we repeat, that the universality of septenary institutions can only be disproved by showing that some of the most ancient nations did not observe them. The fallacy and unfairness, then, of which this author is guilty, in referring to the complex system of the Romans, or even to that of the Greeks, as a disproof, are luminously apparent. As to the latter people, however, we have positive testimony to the fact that the *seventh day* of the first decade (*μηνὸς ἑβδαμίου*) of the month was one of peculiar veneration, being con-

* Who did at one time, if they do not now, constitute the multitude. The state religion, adhered to by the higher orders, is Confucianism, which was probably grafted upon, and then partially supplanted, Buddhism, once the religion of the empire.

secrated to Apollo.* Hesiod tells us that this seventh day was sacred because of the birth of Apollo on that day.† This is most probably a remnant of the hebdomadal observance, and naturally became connected with Apollo, or the sun, through that widely extended worship of the latter as the symbol of deity, and afterward as deity himself, which obtained among the ancient nations. We hold, therefore, that, inasmuch as none of the most ancient peoples have yet been shown to be without this institution, and many are known to have had it, we are justified in concluding that its observance was universal, and therefore of Divine appointment. This view finds most effectual support, too, in the words of our Saviour: "*The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.*" Here, it seems to us, is directly asserted the appointment of the Sabbath for the universal benefit, and hence for the universal observance, of mankind.

But, again, it is argued that, as there is no proof, by any mention in the Old Testament, of the keeping of the Sabbath by the patriarchs before Moses, the words in Genesis mean, if they have any reference at all to man's conduct on that day, that God intended to have the Sabbath celebrated in the future by the Jews. But we may reply that there is no mention of this institution, though of such moral and ceremonial importance in the Jewish economy, after it is last spoken of in the Mosaic writings, (Deut. v, 12,) until Isaiah, (lvi, 2,) a period of more than seven hundred years; and during which time, too, a far larger portion of the Old Testament was written, than had been before, and many more authors were concerned. Moreover, when this institution is first explicitly mentioned, (Exod. xvi, 22-26,) it is spoken of as a well-known matter. It was certainly not instituted at that time, for in that case there would have been some explanation given of what was meant by "a Sabbath unto the Lord," and when, about two months later, the commandment enforcing it was delivered, it was referred to as an established festival, and the people were exhorted to "*Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*"

If then, as we think we have established, the Sabbath was observed from the earliest time upon Divine authority, we have shown that its observance is a moral and not a ceremonial duty, and, therefore, is binding upon all men. As to the particular day to be observed, *that*, we believe, is to be determined by something extrinsic, and the appointment, therefore, of the seventh day of the week for the Jews was wholly ceremonial. For, on the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, the beginning of the year was changed from the

* See *Herodotus*, lib. vi, c. 57.

† *Works and Days*, 770, 771.

first of the month Tisri to the first of the opposite month Abib,* afterward called Nisan, (Exod. xii, 1.) Supposing, now, the months were (as certainly was the case afterward) alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days' duration, there would be one hundred and seventy-seven days between the first of Tisri and that of Abib, which would throw these days, and therefore the Sabbaths, before and after the change, on different days of the week, whether the year of the exodus (A. M. 2513) had an intercalary month† (as is very improbable) or not. If it is suspected, however, that the patriarchal calendar still held good, we must allow that the months were probably each of thirty days' duration; as in the history of the deluge we find five months making one hundred and fifty days. (See Gen. vii, 11, 13, 24, and viii, 3, 4.) This would give one hundred and eighty days as the interval between the first of Tisri and that of Abib, which would still throw these upon different days of the week, whether the year had an intercalary month or not.‡ Here, then, we find that most probably the day of Sabbatical rest was changed for the Jews, and hence conclude that the observance of any special day rather than another, must be, as reason indeed suggests, merely ceremonial, certainly not intrinsically binding. This view is sustained, moreover, by the consideration that the Jewish Sabbath was intended, not only as a memorial of God's beneficence in the creation of this beautiful world, but also as a sign between the Jews and God, as their redeemer from Egyptian bondage,§ a sign, therefore, *peculiar* to them. This peculiarity was best noted by the observance of a *different* day from that common, previous to their deliverance, to them and the Egyptians, as also to other nations. Being a sign between the chosen people and Jehovah, the establishment of this particular day was a ceremonial law; and we, therefore, finally conclude that the moral obligation of Sabbatical observance extends simply to the celebration of one day of the septenary week. What day this shall be, must be determined, as we have said, by

* See *Josephus*, Antiq., I. iii, 3. The beginning of the *civil* year of the Jews still remained the first of Tisri; but that of their *sacred*, which regulated their festival days, Sabbaths included, was thenceforth the first of Abib.

† The intercalary month, Ve-adar, is supposed to have fallen on every third year, and was possibly of thirty days' duration, as alternating with Adar, but must have been, if the Jewish chronology were perfect, of thirty-four days, so as more accurately to exhaust the odd time of eleven days and nearly six hours, remaining over each year.

‡ The intercalary month of the patriarchal calendar, if there was one, (added to exhaust the five days and nearly six hours remaining over each year of 360 days,) must have been introduced every fifth or sixth year, and therefore have been of twenty-six or thirty-one days' duration.

§ See Exod. xxxi, 17; Ezek. xx, 12; Deut. v, 15.

something extrinsic. The resurrection of our Lord upon the first day of the week naturally indicated *that* as the most suitable, as by its observance would be celebrated, not only the goodness of the Creator, but also the crowning act of *our* Redeemer's life; an act, through which we may be freed from the worse than Egyptian bondage of sin and death; an act, which is the seal of our salvation, the prototype of our resurrection, and the assurance of an everlasting rest. That this day was adopted by the apostles, as the season of united religious worship, we have quite abundant evidence from the New Testament. The first meeting on this day recorded by St. John, (xx, 19,) may have been accidental; certainly it was not to celebrate the resurrection of the Saviour, for St. Mark expressly states, (xvi, 11,) that the disciples did not believe the report of Mary Magdalene, that she had seen him. But their similar meeting, spoken of in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter,* may naturally and reasonably be supposed to have been suggested by the gracious appearing of their risen Lord on the first day of the preceding week. Again, He "stood in their midst," and spoke his heavenly benediction of "Peace be unto you." Doubtless, from this time forth, the disciples continued to meet upon a day so peculiarly marked and consecrated. Accordingly, in the Acts of the Apostles, (ii, 1,) we find recorded, that "when the day of Pentecost was fully come, *they were all with one accord in one place.*" Now, this day being "the morrow after the seventh Sabbath," (Lev. xxiii, 15, 16,) was the first day of the week. Again, a blessing sanctified the day:

"Suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting. . . . And they were filled with the Holy Ghost."

And the regeneration, through their preaching that day, of three thousand souls, sealed that blessing, and assured the heavenly origin of their inspiration.

Another meeting upon this day is recorded in the same book, (xx, 7:)

"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight."

Here we find the assembling upon this day spoken of, as if it were customary. It may, indeed, be urged that the near departure of Paul had caused their coming together; but the sense of the passage

* "And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them; *then* came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in their midst, and said, Peace be unto you."

is, we think, properly rendered: "Upon the first day of the week, the disciples having convened (as usual) to break bread, Paul, inasmuch as he was about to depart on the morrow, spoke to them, and continued his speech until midnight." The fact of his being soon to leave them, is most evidently, in the construction of the original, put as a reason for *his* addressing them on that occasion, and not as a reason for *their* assembling, which was "to break bread." And, as favoring the view that this was one of their stated meetings, it is notable that the Syriac version of the New Testament has in this passage, instead of "bread," (*ἄρτον*), an equivalent to the Greek *εὐχαριστία*, which goes to show that it was the custom of the disciples to assemble on the Lord's day, as, indeed, was appropriate, in order to partake of the holy sacrament in grateful remembrance of his death and resurrection. Moreover, it may be observed that the same words, *κλάειν ἄρτον*, "to break bread," used above, are also used in every place in the New Testament where the eucharist is meant.*

In his First Epistle to the Corinthians, (xvi, 1, 2,) we find Paul exhorting them, as he had done the Galatians, to contribute to the necessities of the saints on the first day of the week, according as God may have prospered each one. Now, he would undoubtedly have selected the most convenient season for the collection of these contributions, and his mentioning the *first day* of the week implies the accustomed meeting of the members of the Church on that day, as this would constitute it the most suitable time for every one to "lay by him in store, as God had prospered him" during the preceding week.

To complete the proof that this day was set apart by the apostles, to be "regarded unto the Lord," we quote St. John, who, in Revelation i, 10, says: "I was in the spirit on the *Lord's day*." We have abundant proof that the Jewish Sabbath day was not observed by the Christians generally, and there would have been no propriety, therefore, in calling *that* "the Lord's day;" and as John could not have meant the day of judgment, (as has been suggested,) we are forced to believe that he referred to the first day of the week, as this was the one most likely, judging from what has already been said, to be consecrated by some religious observance and celebration of the resurrection of our Lord. This day, then, we are warranted in concluding, notwithstanding the adverse opinion of some, (among whom is the author of the first essay cited in our rubric,)

* See Mat. xxvi, 26; Mark xiv, 22; Luke xxii, 19; 1 Cor. x, 16, and xi, 23, 24; the words, also, in Luke xxiv, 35, and Acts ii, 42, are, of course, radically the same.

was by the apostles set apart and distinguished in such way from the other days of the week, as to fully justify the appellation of the *Lord's day*—a day belonging to, dedicated, and to be “regarded,” to the Lord; and such is our Christian Sabbath.

We have, also, various testimonies, outside the sacred canon, to the special observance of this day by the early Christians. Pliny the Younger was sent by Trajan as proconsul to Bithynia and other Euxine provinces, about seven or eight years after the publication of St. John's writings, and probably not more than five years after the death of that apostle at Ephesus. Pliny writes to the emperor, that on examining certain Christians accused before him, (during the persecution then in progress,) they “affirmed that their whole fault and error was *their being accustomed to assemble on a stated day*, before sunrise, and to sing alternately (responsively) hymns to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath, (*sacramentum*,) not to any crime, but not to commit theft, nor robbery, nor adultery, not to fail in their word, nor, when called upon, to deny deposits; that it was their custom, after these things had been done, to separate, and again to assemble in order to partake in common of some simple and innocent food.”* This *stated day* could have been no other than the *Lord's*, and in this respect the Bithynian Christians, neighbors to those of Galatia, to whom Paul wrote, and not far from the Churches addressed in the Revelation of St. John, must have observed the general custom of the Church.

The Apostle Barnabas, the chief companion of Paul in his early labors, has attributed to him an epistle, which lays considerable claim to genuineness, being quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, as early as the close of the second century, and in which he says:

“Lastly, He saith unto them: Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot bear. Consider what he means: the Sabbaths now kept are not acceptable to me; but those which I have appointed, when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day, which is the beginning of the other world. Wherefore we also observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and having made himself manifest, ascended into heaven.”†

° Lib. x, Epist. xcvi.

† *General Epistle*, ch. xv. Though the apostolical authority of this epistle may be doubted, its high antiquity cannot be questioned, and hence its testimony as to the customs of the Church of that age, especially when given, as it is here, to sustain the reasonings of the writer, is conclusive. Clemens, as we have said, about the close of the second century, quotes from it as the epistle of “Barnabas, the apostle, who was one of the seventy, and companion of Paul,” and “who preached the word among the Gentiles, along with the Apostle Paul.” (Vid. *Strom.*, lib. 2, and 5.) Origen, too, the renowned disciple of Clemens, quotes from the “Catholic Epistle of Barnabas,” (Vid. *Cont. Cels.*, lib. 1; and *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, lib. 3, c. 2;) and it is cited by Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. 3, c. 25; lib. 6, c. 13, 14,) and,

Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom at Rome about ten years after the death of St. John, in an epistle attributed to him, and supposed to be one of the collection made by his disciple Polycarp, and mentioned by Irenæus, Origen, and others, says :

"If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient laws came to the newness of hope; no more observing Sabbaths, but *living according to* (or, *keeping*) *the Lord's day*, in which also our life is sprung up through him and his death, which some deny."

Other witnesses might be cited, but these we deem sufficient to show that the early Christians set apart the first day of the week for religious observance, instead of the Jewish Sabbath. We have now to ascertain in what this observance should consist, and to this end first inquire what was the practice of the primitive Church. From a careful study and collation of many authorities, which we have not space here to detail, we have arrived at the conclusion, we should in reason expect, that the spirit and method of its observance were wholly opposed to the sacrificial and servile character pertaining to the sabbatical institution of the Jews, showing forth thus the contrast between the legal economy of the Mosaic dispensation and the glorious liberty of the Gospel far more emphatically than the change of day, which was, doubtless, intended partly to mark this opposition. To the true Christian, every day is a Sabbath, in the spiritual sense, but that this day was distinguished by a special effort at consecration to the Lord, by united worship, and consequently by a marked difference between its employments and those of other days, we may believe upon the testimony of many early writers. The day was observed, we believe, not only in remembrance of our Saviour's resurrection, but also of the creation of the world; both of which considerations rendered it a time of rejoicing.

But what, now, says the New Testament upon this institution—what are Jesus Christ's laws of the Sabbath? Everybody knows the two instances, of his disciples' plucking the ears of corn, and of his healing the withered hand,† in which he crushed at once the Pharisaic and Rabbinical authority by displaying the true doctrine of the Sabbath, enforced by most cogent arguments. We are here taught that works of necessity, whether this arises from a law of nature, (ver. 3, 4,) or a direct enactment of God,‡ (ver. 5,) and of we believe, by Jerome. If the epistle is a forgery, it must have been, however, of considerable age, even in the time of Clemens and Origen, to have deceived them; and this is all our argument requires.

° *Epistle to the Magnesians*, ed. Isaac Vossius, p. 35, Amsterdam, 1646.

† See Matt. xii, 1-8, and 9-13.

‡ "Or have ye not read in the law, *how* that on the Sabbath days, the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless?" This was cited by our

charity are lawful on the Sabbath day. The law of love is here proclaimed by Christ to be superior to all sacrificial obligations. This is the essence of the Gospel; and this, which constitutes the chief obligation and clearly indicates the true method of observing the Christian Sabbath day. Again, Christ healed a man at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath, and commanded him to "take up his bed and walk," though carrying burdens on that day was expressly forbidden in the law. (See Jer. xvii, 21-27.) Here, then, the opponents of Sabbath observance have thought was to be found the authoritative overthrow of all obligation to rest on that day. There is only need, however, to point out how amply Christ's motives in this command are seen in the poverty of the man, and the consequent value to him of what was possibly his sole possession, and in the fact that in this way was best assured both to the man himself and to others, the miraculous restoration of his strength. The Jews, here as in the case of the withered hand, persecute Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, and he replies: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Though God had rested on the seventh day from *creating*, he had not ceased from preserving and blessing his works, and being merciful to all his creatures.

In this connection, we may notice another passage sometimes insisted on as showing the disregard in which the Sabbath was, and is to be held, which is found in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, (ii, 16:)

"Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days."

The apostle says that, inasmuch as Christ, by his death, has set us free from the "ordinances" of the law, no man has a right to blame us for neglecting the observance of them, as respects meats, for example, or various feasts, (which were under ceremonial regulations, as is well known, in the Jewish economy,) or, he adds, as regards the Sabbaths, referring doubtless, as from the connection it appears, to the ceremonial portions of the Sabbatic law. The keeping of the Sabbath by the Jews was *partly* a sacrificial work, and this was superseded by the death of Christ, and to *this* it was that Paul referred, for in the next verse he adds: "Which things are a *shadowing forth* of things to come; but the *reality* is found in Christ."*

Lastly, in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle says, (ver. 5, 6:)

Saviour, as showing that a work for the purposes of religion being lawful, if necessary, so is such a work for other purposes.

* "Which things are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ."

"One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day *alike*. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks."

The author of the second article in our rubric, founds upon this passage as one predicating most forcibly the "utter indifference of days, as religious or ceremonial observances." Now, by the addition of the word *alike*, in our version, the meaning of the passage is somewhat distorted. The true rendering of the original Greek is: "One man esteems (*κρίνει*, separates, puts apart) one day above another; another esteems every day."* From the very nature of things, Paul cannot mean, here, by the word *ἡμέρα*, "day," *every* day, for it would be absurd to say that a man separates, in estimation, every day of the year. We conclude, therefore, that *ἡμέρα* is here used in the very common sense of *festive* or holiday. Throughout the whole chapter, St. Paul is speaking of the mutual charity that should be used in judging of those who adhered to the Mosaic observances of clean and unclean meats, by those who considered all as clean, and of these by the former. While on this matter, he speaks, as of an intimately connected subject, of the observance of days, *festive* days without doubt, we think, as established in the ceremonial law along with the distinction of meats. He could not, so incidentally and in such connection, have intended to refer to the law, written by the finger of God on tables of stone, the moral law, which the Lord of the Sabbath had come into the world "not to destroy, but to fulfill."

Christ's doctrine of the Sabbath is briefly summed up by himself in the words: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," (Mark, ii, 27;) and being a merciful gift, it is not to be regarded as a sacrifice, and "it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days," as also to do whatever work is necessary. He taught that "one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled;" and as the Sabbatic rest is most probably to be considered a type of the rest that remaineth in heaven, it will continue until that is consummated.

From our former argument, we have seen that the command to "keep a Sabbath day holy" is binding upon all men. The Hebrew word *holy*, קֹדֶשׁ, signifies originally *separate, peculiar*. Thus we have the *holy garments* of the priesthood, a *holy nation*, and many

* It may be said that the meaning here is that some esteem every day as separate to the Lord, consider all time as the Lord's; but from the connection, it is hardly necessary to state, this appears a most improbable interpretation.

other things called *holy*, because set apart and established as peculiar. From this signification naturally arose that which we now attach to the words *holy* and *holiness*. The word used in the New Testament, ἅγιον, seems to have the same radical meaning of "separateness," as appears from the use of the verb ἁγιάζειν, of the same root, by Matthew,* (xxiii, 17,) and by John,† (x, 36.) In the latter passage, inasmuch as Jesus was in essence the most holy and pure of beings, it is best to read that the Father *set him apart, separated him* to the work of man's salvation, and sent him into the world. Moreover, in Exodus xix, 23, where the Lord commands the people to "set bounds to the mount and sanctify it," (הַשְׁבִּיחַ הַהוּא) we find the Hebrew word used evidently in its original sense, and the Greek word corresponding, in the Septuagint, is ἁγιάσαι, the imperative form of ἁγιάζειν; and so elsewhere. The fourth commandment does, therefore, run thus: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it separate." We are to keep it as a peculiar day, different in its employments from the others. On other days we are to *work*; upon this, to *rest*—rest, as God rested on the seventh day, not by the suspension of activity, for that could not have been the rest of God—rest, as we shall rest in heaven, where doubtless constant activity is the exponent of ever-enduring happiness, and of untiring energies employed in a manner very different from that in which they are exhausted in this weary world. The stringent ceremonial laws, which in the Mosaic code marked and defined the observance of the day for the Jews, were introduced partly, perhaps, as a preventive of that miserable casuistry, which afterward was so fully developed in the Pharisaical teachings. The people were not then sufficiently advanced to enjoy without danger the liberty of the Gospel of the Son of God. They required the stern training of the law, which was their guide, (παιδαγωγός,) as Paul says, to bring them unto Christ, (in Gal. iii, 24.) We have seen that the Sabbath was established, besides, as a sign between the Jews and Jehovah:

"But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day." Deut. v, 14, 15.

Thus we find the observance of the Sabbath appointed and insisted on, in order that *man and beast may have a due proportion*

* " . . . Whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?"

† "Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world. . ."

of rest. This consideration is as binding upon Christians, through the potency and comprehensiveness of the law of love, as it was upon the Jews, through a special and positive enactment. The Sabbath was, indeed, made for man; it is the gift of God. The physical nature of man requires some such rest, and that for this the seventh day is most advantageous, we may assume, since it was appointed for, at least, one nation, by Supreme wisdom. We may quote, what has often been quoted, to sustain our point here, the valuable testimony of Dr. Farre:

"Although the night apparently equalizes the circulation well, yet it does not sufficiently restore its balance for the attainment of a *long* life. Hence one day in seven, by the bounty of Providence, is thrown in as a day of compensation to perfect by its repose the animal system. You may easily determine this question by trying it on beasts of burden. Take that fine animal, the horse, and work him to the full extent of his powers every day of the week, or give him rest one day in seven, and you will soon perceive, by the superior vigor with which he performs his functions on the other six days, that this rest is necessary to his well-being. Man, possessing a superior nature, is borne along by the very vigor of his mind, so that the injury of *continued* diurnal exertion, and excitement in his animal system, is not so immediately apparent as it is in the brute; but in the long-run it breaks down more suddenly; it abridges the length of his life and that vigor of his old age, which (as to mere animal power) ought to be the object of his preservation. . . . This is said simply as a physician, and without reference at all to the theological question."

This institution is peculiarly a gift to laboring men, who are the multitude; and, as such, no one has a right to deprive them of it in any way, even so far as by setting an example of disregard for the day, he may weaken in any mind the obligation to keep it for himself or for others. On the principle, therefore, of love for our neighbor, we are bound to keep "holy the Sabbath day." Thus it was, doubtless, that Christ, in the brief recital of the commandments in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, (vv. 18, 19,) made no mention of the keeping the Sabbath, inasmuch as this was virtually included in "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The first commandment is, also, not found in this passage, but is (with the second and third, as consequent) clearly implied in the seventeenth verse.

Without some such periodic rest, then, we see that the physical, and, consequently, the intellectual and moral constitution of man would depreciate. The prosperity of a nation, being in *direct* ratio to its mental and moral development, would be more fully assured by the establishment of a Sabbath. The degeneracy in public and private morality, which caused the downfall of many of the ancient nations, was, doubtless, owing in part to the neglect of such institutions. We find in Jeremiah (xvii, 21-27) such temporal blessings pronounced for the proper observance of the Sabbath, and similar curses for its neglect, as to sustain the views here advanced. For

any temporal good bestowed by God was, scarcely without exception, sent as a consequence naturally resulting from the course of conduct, for which it was promised as a reward. Hence we infer from the blessings attached to the keeping of the Sabbath, that such observance naturally produces such good effects. So that, as a political institution, the Sabbath is a most wise and beneficent provision; and as preserving and improving the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of our fellow-men, we are bound by the law of love to observe it. Even solely upon this sublime foundation of love to man, which itself is founded in gratitude to God, we are well content to rest the claims of the Christian Sabbath and the obligations to its observance. For within the sacred influence of this law of love, we shall be as far removed from that Pharisaical and Puritanical strictness, which demands a sacrificial and ceremonial observance, as from that madness, which would make us throw away so merciful a gift. Under the prompting of a Christian love, we shall be as loth to deny, in any way, to the poor, imprisoned laborers of our cities,* this weekly rest and all the innocent recreations in their reach, as to refuse to draw a sheep from a pit, or to heal, if in our power, a withered hand. We all, indeed, may well thank God for these oases of rest, "made for man," along the dreary wastes of life, and let our hearts go up to him in gratitude for his abounding love.

ART. V.—THE LAST OF THE HUGUENOTS.

It is a striking historical coincidence that Westchester County, New-York, was settled by emigrants of New-England and France, both seeking an asylum from religious persecutions. In 1642, John Throckmorton and thirty-five associates made the first settlement in that section of our country, *with the approbation of the Dutch authorities*. They came from New-England, driven away with Roger Williams, by the violent Hugh Peters. Here the Dutch permitted them to settle in a region which was then called *Vredeland*, or *Land of Peace*; a beautiful name for the home of those in search of rest from violent and persecuting men. Even here the Puritan did not find his desired quiet, for several of his band fell in the Indian massacre on the 6th of October, 1643.

* The problem of the Sunday enjoyment of the poor, so interesting now for many years, and occupying so much attention in England, will become so to us, as soon as our population becomes more fixed.

The next settlement was commenced in 1654, near the present village of Westchester, by a number of Puritans from Connecticut, who adopted its present name. At that early period, "all ecclesiastical business" was conducted by the assembled town meeting, after the secular matters were disposed of. We find an account of their mode of worship, from the Dutch Commissioners, who visited Westchester in 1656:

"31st Dec. After dinner, Cornelius Van Ruyven went to the house where they held their Sunday meeting, to see their mode of worship, as they had as yet no preacher. There I found a gathering of about fifteen men, and ten or twelve women. Mr. Baly said the prayers, after which, one Robert Bassett read from a printed book a sermon, composed by an English clergyman in England. After the reading, Mr. Baly gave out another prayer and sang a psalm, and they all separated."

This is the way divine service was performed two hundred years ago in the present region of New-Rochelle. Twenty years after, in 1674, the Rev. Ezekiel Fogge appears to have been the first independent minister who officiated there. The town books have the following entries:

"On the 11th of February, 1680, there was sprinkled with water by Morgan Jones, (what they call baptizing,) William Hunt, son of John Hunt, of Westchester. Witnesses present, Joseph Hunt and Bridget Waters."

"Westchester, October 7, 1680. Morgan Jones married Isaac Dickerman, of this towne, to Bethia, the daughter of Henry Gardener.

"Recorded per me,

FRANCIS FRENCH, Clerk."

In 1684, "The justices and vestrymen of Westchester, Eastchester, and Yonckers, do accept of Mr. Warham Mather as our minister for one whole year, and that he shall have sixty pound, in country produce, at money price, for his salary, and that he shall be paid every quarter. Done in behalf of the Justices aforesaid. Signed by us,

JOHN QUIMBY,
JOSEPH HUNT,
JOHN BAYLEY,
JOHN BURKBEE."

The people solicited Governor Fletcher to "have Mather inducted to that living," but he told them "it was altogether impossible, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister, who was not of the national Church." The governor proposed "a medium in that matter." Mr. Bondet, a French Protestant minister at Boston, who was in orders from the Lord of London, could preach in French and English, and the people of New-Rochelle might call him to the living, as the parish was large enough for two ministers. Mr. Mather could be supported by subscriptions.

Mr. Bondet was accordingly sent for, "hoping," as the governor writes, "to bring the congregation over to the Church;" but "when he came, they refused to call him." The Puritan was evidently not

to be outmanaged by the Churchman. There were then in Westchester "two or three hundred English and Dissenters; a few Dutch."

The parish of NEW-ROCHELLE was originally a portion of the two grants made by the Indians in 1640 and 1649 to the Dutch West India Company. No settlement was, however, made here until Thomas Pell's purchase from the native proprietors of all that tract eastward of the Westchester bounds. This was the Manor of Pelham, and in 1669, the patentee devised the whole of it to his nephew, John Pell, who obtained a further confirmation of the lands from Governor Dongan, October 29, 1687.

In 1689, September 20, Mr. Pell and his wife Rachel conveyed to Jacob Leisler, of the City of New-York, six thousand acres of this tract, which he purchased for the exiled Huguenots; the grantor, heirs, and assigns, as an acknowledgment, were to pay Mr. Pell "*one fat calf on every four and twentieth day of June, yearly, and every year forever, if demanded.*" It is a well-known fact, that every Huguenot, on the festival of St. John the Baptist, paid his proportion toward the purchase of the fat calf, whenever claimed.

Throughout the year 1690, Jacob Leisler released to these banished French Protestants, the lands purchased for them. They named the settlement *New-Rochelle*, when they came directly from England, and were a portion of the fifty thousand who found a refuge in that noble Protestant land four years before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not less than five hundred thousand at this bloody period escaped, finding homes in Germany, Holland, and England. Charles II., then on the English throne, granted them letters of denization, under the great seal, and Parliament, in July, 1681, passed a bill which relieved them from "importation duties and passport fees." This was the same year when they fled from France,

and they were aided in their escape by the English vessels that lay off the Island of Rhé, opposite brave La Rochelle. According to tradition, they were transported to New-Rochelle in a royal vessel, landing on Davenport's Neck, at a place called Bauffett's or Bonnefoy's Point. (Vide Petition Doc., vol. iii, p. 926.)

Soon after the purchase of this tract, the emigrants began the settlement of

the present village, naming it in honor of their



"Own Rochelle, the fair Rochelle,
Proud city of the waters."

Men of integrity and the firmest religious principles, coeval with the foundation of their village, the Huguenots organized a Church "according to the usage of the Reformed Church in France," maintaining its articles, liturgy, discipline, and canons. Measures were adopted to erect a Church forthwith. Pell, the Lord of the Manor, besides the six thousand acres already obtained, granted one hundred additional "for the use of the French Church, *erected, or to be erected*, by the inhabitants of the said tract of land." This sacred edifice was built about 1692-1693, of wood, and stood in the rear of the present Mansion House, close to the old Boston post road. Some venerable people, still living, remember the old Huguenotic Church, which was destroyed soon after the Revolutionary war. About the same time, Louis Bongrand "did give unto the inhabitants of New-Rochelle a piece of land, forty paces square, for a church-yard to bury their dead." Subsequently a house with some three acres of land were given by the town to the Church forever.

This rapid sketch of the early Huguenotic Church in New-Rochelle, will properly introduce the name of its *first* pastor, the Rev. David Bonrepos, D.D. He was the French Protestant minister who accompanied the earliest Huguenots in their flight from France to this country.

But little is known at this day of the Rev. David Bonrepos's ministry, except that he retained his pastoral relations only a short time. In the Rev. John Miller's description of New-York, in 1696, he says: "There is a meeting-house at Richmond, (Staten Island,) of which Dr. Bonrepos is the minister. There are forty English, forty-four Dutch, and thirty-six French families." He probably resigned his charge in 1694. In the Town Records on the 9th of March, 1696, there is this entry:

"David de Bonrepos, of New-York City, Doctor of Divinity, and Blanche his wife, did grant to Elias de Bonrepos, of New-Rochelle, husbandman, all that certain parcel of land, situate and lying at New-Rochelle, in the Manor of Pelham, etc., containing fifty acres of ground," etc.—(Lib. A., 23.)

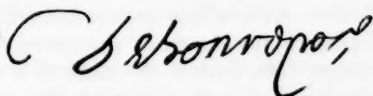
We have obtained the autograph of this earliest Huguenot minister, from the following letter written by him to Governor Leisler at New-Amsterdam, October 20, 1690. The governor requested him to nominate "some persons for the vacant offices of justice of the peace;" "but he could not comply, as none of his colonists at New-Rochelle had a knowledge of the English tongue," which was one condition of their election. He thus concludes the letter:

"It is not through any unwillingness to exert themselves to meet it, but you know their strength as well as I. Notwithstanding, despite their poverty and

misery, they will never lack in submission to the orders on behalf of his majesty, both for the public good and interest. This they protested to me, and I pray you to be persuaded thereof. I am with respect, and I pray God for your prosperity, Sir,

"Your very humble

"and very obedient servant



"Pastor of the French Colony.

"A Monsieur de LEISLER, Lieut. Gouverneur pour le Roy d'Angleterre du fort William a la New-York."*

In 1695-6, letters of denization were granted to David Bonrepos and others. "Elias Bonrepos was licensed to keep school within ye Town of Rochelle, upon the 23d of June, 1705;" and letters of administration were granted to Martha Bonrepos, wife of David Bonrepos, 25th of October, 1711. Vide Surrogate's office, New-York, Lib. viii, 61.

The next minister of the Huguenot Church at New-Rochelle was the Rev. Daniel Bondet, A. M. He was a native of France, and born in 1652. Studying theology at Geneva, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he fled from France to England, and was ordained to the Christian ministry by the Lord Bishop of London. Soon after, he accompanied the French emigrants, who reached Boston in the summer of 1686. Joseph Dudley and other proprietors brought into this country over thirty French Protestant families, settling them at Oxford, near Boston. Besides his pastoral duties over the Huguenot congregation, he was employed eight years by the Corporation for Propagating the Christian Faith among the Indians. At this very early period M. Bondet complained to the public authorities that the sale of rum to the Indians was "without order or measure," and of its baneful effects.

He was called to the living of Westchester in 1695, a Mr. Mather being at the time the regular pastor. Still it was thought the parish was large enough to maintain two. When the Huguenot preacher arrived, however, the vestry altered their resolution and refused to call him. This plan failing of inducting M. Bondet into the parish of Westchester, Col. Heathcote secured his services for the French Church at New-Rochelle.

At first the Huguenot preacher used the French prayers, according to the Protestant Churches of France, and subsequently every third Sunday the Liturgy of the English Church. In 1709, the French congregation resolved to follow the example of their reformed

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. ii, pp. 304, 305.

brethren in England, and conform to the English Church. All the members except *two* agreed to adopt the Liturgy and Rites of the Church of England as established by law. The names of *Elias Badeau*, Andrew Reneau, and J. Levillaine, with twenty-six others, appear in the document requesting this important ecclesiastical change. Mr. Bartow, the rector of the parish, was present on the occasion, and read prayers; a Mr. Sharp, chaplain in the army, preaching "a very good sermon." The interesting services were held in the old wooden church, erected in 1692-93, upon Monday, June 13, A. D. 1709.

For his services among the "poor refugees, he was allowed one hundred and five pieces per annum," and paid by the corporation "for the promotion of the Gospel among the savages," until the Indian murders dispersed his little flock. For two years afterward he still remained in New-England, hoping for the reestablishment of the Huguenot settlement; but finally removed to the province of New-York. By the Indian war "his improvements were wholly lost," as the old account reads, in which Lieut. Governor Stoughton, Wait Winthrop, Increase Mather, and Charles Morton certify to his "great faithfulness, care, and industry, both in reference to Christians and Indians, as well as his unblemished life and conversation."

At New-Oxford, M. Bondet was allowed a salary of £25 a year, which amount was continued to him when he settled at New-Rochelle, and paid out of the public revenue. The Earl of Bellemont becoming Governor of the New-York Province, he increased this sum by an additional payment of £30 per annum, but very soon suspended him from both amounts. His only income then was £20, received from his congregation, for the support of himself and family. It is a curious fact, that the *first* settled Episcopal minister in this country was a French Protestant refugee, and New-Rochelle, the favorite asylum of the expatriated Huguenots, claims the honor of having invited him to their Church.

In the first letter of the Huguenot preacher, July 24, 1707, to the Venerable Society in England, he manifests a concern for the religious improvement of the slaves, who were found at that early period in the New-York colony. He says:

"It were to be wished that the civil powers would take the same care of the slaves in the country. I have often proposed this to our company, among whom there are several slaves; the poor creatures might easily receive the same edification by the care of the minister in their several places."

In 1709, the Church petitioned the Society "for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," to "send over a considerable

number of Common Prayer Books, in the French language," and an English schoolmaster. At this time there were over one hundred communicants, and the petition was signed by Isaac Guions, Louis Guions Jejeune, Anthony Lispenar, Pierre Valteau, with twenty-two others.

The congregation increasing, more accommodation was required, and in 1710, subscriptions were opened to erect a new church. Col. Hunter, then governor, was a Churchman, and zealously supported the undertaking, the Rev. Mr. Sharp, chaplain of her majesty's forces at New-York, collecting the moneys. We have before us a list of the donors, Governor Hunter's name leading it with the largest sum, £6; others following in different, smaller amounts, down to *one dollar*. These were liberal subscriptions for that period. The sacred edifice was completed the same year, and stood "upon the public or king's road," a little toward the east of the present Episcopal Church at New-Rochelle. It was built of stone, nearly square, forty feet long, and thirty feet broad, and perfectly plain inside and out. So anxious were all to aid the work, that even females, it is related, carried mortar in their aprons, to finish this house of the Lord.

In 1711-12, the Venerable Propagation Society presented the new church with "one hundred French Prayer Books of the small sort, and twenty of a larger impression;" and, "in consideration of the great learning and piety of Monsieur Bondet, and his long and faithful discharge of his office, they augmented his salary from £30 to £50 per annum." At this period, we find the following testimony of his character: "M. Bondet is a good old man, near sixty years of age, sober, just, and religious." One hundred more French Prayer Books were sent to the Church in 1713, and £10 for "his diligence and care in performing English service every third Sunday, for the edification of the French youth, who have learned so much of that language as to join with him therein." About this period, too, the town gave a house and three acres of land, adjoining the church, for the use of the clergyman, forever." During the year 1714, the Huguenot preacher took spiritual charge of the Mohegan, or River Indians; at which time he was called "minister of the French Calvinistic congregation at New-Rochelle."

In 1714, M. Bondet reports to the Venerable Society fifty communicants in his Church, and every third Sunday he performed service in English, "with a Bible of small volume and character." He requests that body to allow his congregation "the benefit of an English Bible, with a small quantity of English Common Prayers, because our young people, or some of them, have sufficiently learned

to read English for to join in the public service when read in English." In the conclusion of this letter he adds his "acknowledgment for the Most Honorable and Venerable Society that they may continue in present and future generations, examples, encouragers, and promoters of true godliness. This promised, I recommend myself to your benevolence, and remain,

"Honorable Sirs, etc.,

Danul Bondet

Three years after this day the Huguenot pastor lost his wife, Jane Bondet, and he says on the mournful occasion: "God having crowned the hardships of her pilgrimage with an honorable end, I keep and rule my house, as I ought to be exemplary in house ruling as in Church ministry." From this period he continued faithful at his post for more than three years; but the latter days of the good man's ministry were disturbed by the ill conduct of some seceders from his congregation. These were aided by the Consistory of the French Church in New-York. But their lawful pastor, Monsieur Lewis Roux, a man of learning, refused to encourage these disturbers at New-Rochelle, which peaceful interference led to the unjust dismissal from his pastoral charge.

His colleague, Monsieur Moulinars, usurped the place, and headed the party of M. Bondet's congregation, which sanctioned his Episcopal ordination. In New-Rochelle, the seceders went so far as to erect a meeting-house, styling themselves the "French Protestant Congregation." This unfortunate strife continuing for some time, the dissatisfied party in New-York, fearing their estates might be liable for the salary of M. Roux, "thought it advisable to drop their debates, reinstate the minister, and leave the Church."

M. Bondet died in September, 1722, aged sixty-nine years; nearly twenty-seven of which he was minister of the New-Rochelle Church. Eminently useful in keeping his congregation together amid its adverse circumstances, he was greatly beloved, and dying, was greatly lamented. He was interred beneath the chancel floor of the old Church; his will was dated March 24, 1721-22.

The will is recorded in the Surrogate's Office, New-York, and among others are the following items: "I do give to Judith Robinseau, a little negro girl, named Charlotte, for her proper use and benefit. I do give to the use of the Church of New-Rochelle, all my books."

M. Bondet was succeeded in the Huguenot Church, New-Rochelle, by the Rev. Pierre Stouppe, A. M. He also was a native of France, and said to be a son, or nearly related to the Rev. Mr. Stouppe, pastor of the French Church in London, who was sent to Geneva, in 1654, by Oliver Cromwell, for the purpose of negotiating there in the affairs of the French Protestants. M. Stouppe was born in 1690, studied divinity at Geneva, and accepted a call to the French Church at Charleston, S. C. In this field he continued until 1723, when, resigning the charge, he conformed to the Church of England, crossing the Atlantic for ordination. He was admitted to holy orders in 1723, and licensed to officiate as a missionary in the colony of New-York, receiving at the same time a similar appointment from the Venerable Society, to the French Protestants of New-Rochelle, with a salary of £50 per annum. To this latter flock he proved very acceptable, from his ability of preaching in French, the only language which most of them understood. At the period of M. Stouppe's arrival, the elders, or ancients, as sometimes called, of this Church, were Isaac Quantein and Isaac Guion.

The new Huguenot pastor soon found trouble with the dissatisfied M. Moulinars and his party, who declared M. Stouppe's "Church and that of Rome as like one another as two fishes can be." Writing to the Propagation Society in 1726, he states that he has "baptized six grown negroes and seven negro children, fitted eight young people for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which they have been accordingly admitted," and that "the number of communicants at Easter was thirty-three.

"I am, Reverend Sir, etc.,

L Stouppe

In another letter, of Dec. 11, 1727, he presents some important information concerning the settlement of New-Rochelle :

"The number of people that first settled New-Rochelle was about a dozen of families; the most of them were in Europe trading merchants; being French refugees, they were all at first addicted to the Confession of Faith of the formerly Reformed Protestant Church of France. These few families, I say, have conjointly bought of the Lord Pell six thousand acres of land, and divided it into lots and parcels, from 20 to 30, 40, 50, 60, 100, 200, and 300 acres a piece; have sold afterward the said lots and parcels to any who had a mind to buy them, English, French, or Dutch: but so it happened that more of the French than of the two other nations proved desirous to settle among them.
° ° ° The present number of inhabitants amounts to very near four hundred

persons. There is a dozen of houses near the Church, standing pretty close to one another, which makes that place a sort of a town; the remainder of the houses and settlements are dispersed up and down as far as the above said six thousand acres of land could bear. Nay, besides these, there were several other French families, members of New-Rochelle, settled without its bounds. They are little or not at all improved in their fortunes, and a few tailors and shoemakers excepted, they all live upon the produce of their own land."

Such was the commencement of the present picturesque, beautiful, and Protestant village of New-Rochelle. More than a century and a half have passed away since its pious founders emigrated to this New World, but their holy principles have left undying influences, now to be seen in the refinement, morals, and religion of this entire region.

M. Stouppe, in the same communication, informs us that there were

"Two Quaker families, three Dutch ones, four Lutherans, and several of the French. The first never assist on assemblies; the Dutch and Lutheran, on the contrary, constantly assist when Divine service is performed in English, so that they may understand it; and their children, likewise, have all been baptized by ministers of the Church. Only the French Dissenters have deserted it, upon M. Moulinars, formerly one of the French ministers of New-York, coming and settling, now a year ago, among us, and it is also by his means and inducement that they have built a wooden meeting-house within the time they were unprovided for, that is, from my predecessor's death to my arrival here. * * * *

"There is no school nor schoolmaster as yet in New-Rochelle; the parents take care to instruct their own children, and that they do generally pretty well, besides what instructions are given to them in the Church during summer by the minister. * * * * The number of slaves within New-Rochelle is seventy-eight; part of them constantly attend Divine service, and have had some instruction in the Christian faith by the care and assistance of their respective masters and mistresses, so that my predecessor did not scruple to baptize some, and even to admit to the communion of the Lord's Supper, and I myself have, for the same consideration, baptized fifteen of them within these three years, some children and some grown persons, without the least prejudice to the rest of my flock."

In all his communications, the Huguenot pastor manifested the same commendable care for the spiritual welfare of the negroes, constantly baptizing their children.

In 1742, the inhabitants of New-Rochelle embraced "eighty families in the boundaries of the place, thirty-four of which were such as understood no French, twenty-four were Calvinists, and only four persons which are from old France, that come to the Church of England, and they are a very ancient people; wherefore, I and a great many others are of opinion, that although the place is so situated, that there seems to be an absolute necessity for a minister, yet we humbly conceive he needs not be a Frenchman, nor be ordered to read and preach in French, considering how things are

circumstanced at present." This letter was written by Leonard Lisenard, and from another uncopied portion of it, we learn that some dissatisfaction existed toward M. Stoupe because he did not repeat "the service of the Church in English" often enough.

About the year 1743, M. Stoupe revisited his native country, on which occasion the members of his Church addressed the Venerable Society in his behalf. The letter is signed by Jean Soulice, Peter Bonnet, Giel Le Counte, Peter Sicard, and fifty-six others, who say :

"That our said minister, since his first coming, has constantly resided among us, preaching (as directed by the Hon'ble Society) two Sundays in French and one in English, much to our satisfaction and edification, his doctrine being very sound and his pronounciation full, clear, and intelligible. Upon which account we could have wished that he had finished his days among us without interruption, and we expected nothing else; but as it happens, a strong desire to hear from his relatives has prevailed with him to take a journey for Europe. However, seeing now he explains his mind, and promises to return among us, we beg of the Hon'ble Society, that they would accordingly be pleased to send him again to us, by the first and next opportunity."

In 1743, Aman Guion gave one acre and three quarters of land for the use of the minister and communicants of the French Church at New-Rochelle, "which is now in possession of the Rev. Peter Stoupe." About the period of the French war, he informs the Society, by letter, June 5, 1758:

"That since the war broke out, there have been great alterations in his congregations, which have lost many of their members by removals, and by enlisting in the king's service, and by death; nevertheless, the number of his communicants is seventy-four, and he has baptized within the present half year, fifteen white, and five black children."

The ministry of this faithful and successful Huguenot missionary terminated on earth, by his death in July, 1760; his biographer esteemed him "a simple-minded, conscientious man, who for thirty-seven years continued faithfully to discharge the duties of his mission." During this long incumbency, his communicants had increased from thirty-eight to eighty. He was greatly beloved by his congregation, and his remains were interred under the chancel of the Old French Church at New-Rochelle, where he had so long watched over the little flock of his Master.

M. Stoupe was succeeded by the Rev. MICHAEL HOUDIN, A. M.; he was born in France, 1705; educated a Franciscan Friar; on Easter-day, 1730, he was ordained priest by the Archbishop of Trèves, and subsequently preferred to the post of Superior in the Convent of the Recollects at Montreal. Disgusted with monastic life, M. Houdin, at the commencement of the French war, left

Canada, and retired to the City of New-York. Here, on Easter-day, 1747, he made a public renunciation of popery, and joined the Church of England. Attaining great proficiency in the English language, in June, 1750, he was invited by the people of Trenton to officiate as a missionary among the inhabitants of that State.

When he first reached New-York with his wife in June, 1744, Governor Clinton, suspicious of all Frenchmen at that moment, had them confined to their lodgings, and guarded by two sentinels. He was next examined by his excellency in council, when they learned from him, that "the French intended to attack Oswego with eight hundred men, as soon as the provision ships from France should arrive; the French having a great desire of being masters of that place." M. Houdin was then ordered to reside at Jamaica, Long Island, where he complained that his circumstances were "very low," and "can do nothing to get a living; that his wife and himself must soon come to want, unless his excellency will be pleased to take him into consideration." After this appeal the Council advised his return to the city, on his taking the oath of allegiance.

M. Houdin officiated for some years at Trenton and the neighboring places, as an "itinerant missionary," upon the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Barclay, then Rector of Trinity Church. The Episcopalians of New-Jersey, at that period, were "in poor circumstances," and a gratuity of £30 was granted to him. In one of his letters from Trenton, November 4, 1753, he returns thanks for this benefaction, stating that he had baptized from the 13th of the preceding December "forty-five children and five adults, after proper instruction; and at Annwell, a town within his mission, above two hundred Presbyterians and some families of Anabaptists, during the last summer, joined with the members of the Church of England, * * * and contributed toward the finishing of the Church," which "he blesses God was then quite done."

In 1759, the French Protestant's services were, as a guide, required for General Wolfe in his well-known expedition against Quebec. Before marching, he preached to the provincial troops, destined for Canada, in St. Peter's Church, Westchester, from St. Matthew, ch. x, 28: "Fear not them which kill the body," etc. The pious chaplain escaped the dangers of war, but his brave general, at the very moment of victory, fell mortally wounded, on the Heights of Abraham, September 13, 1759. He writes from Quebec to the Missionary Society, and "entreats that his absence from his mission may not bring him under their displeasure, as he was in some measure forced to it in obedience to the commands of Lord Loudon and

other succeeding commanders, who depended much on his being well acquainted with that country."

After the reduction of Quebec, he asked leave to join his mission, but General Murray ordered him to remain, as there was no other person who could be depended on for intelligence of the French proceedings. M. Houdin writes "that he himself, as well as the public, hath received a great loss by the death of the brave General Wolfe," who promised to remember his labor and services, which are not so well-known to General Murray.

While M. Houdin was stationed at Quebec, an attempt was made by the Vicar-General of all Canada, to seduce him from English allegiance, with an offer of great preferment in the Romish Church. This pressing invitation found its way into the hands of Generals Murray and Gage, who sent a guard to arrest the vicar-general.

M. Houdin probably returned to New-York in 1761, as he was appointed that year "an itinerant missionary" to New-Rochelle, by the Venerable Society; "he being a Frenchman by birth, and capable of doing his duty to them both in the French and English languages." In appointing him to this field of labor, the Society stipulated that the people should give their new pastor a comfortable support, and put the old parsonage in order. During the incumbency of M. Houdin, Trinity Church, New-Rochelle, received its first charter from George the Third, which the present corporation still enjoys with all its trusts and powers. It is dated in 1762, and was exemplified by His Excellency George Clinton, in 1793.

M. Houdin writes to the secretary, October 10, 1763, complaining that the "Calvinists used unlawful methods to obtain possession of the Church glebe." These were the few old French families which had not conformed to the Church of England; and in the conclusion of this letter he observes: "Seeing the Calvinists will not agree upon any terms of peace proposed to them by our Church, * * * we are in hope the strong bleeding of their purse will bring them to an agreement after New-York Court."

The French Protestant continued his pious labors at New-Rochelle until October, 1766, when he departed this life. He was a man of considerable learning, irreproachable character, and esteemed a worthy missionary. His remains were interred under the chancel of the Old French Church, and by the side of his Huguenot predecessors, Bondet and Stouppe. Since the removal of this edifice, the ashes of these early Protestant missionaries repose beneath the highway, and not a stone tells where they lie, or commemorates their value and excellences.

A colony of French Huguenots settled in Charleston, S. C., and

about 1693 erected a plain, neat stone Church. Elias Piroleau was its first pastor, who came with a part of his flock from Santonge. The old building was taken down, and a new beautiful sacred edifice occupies its place. This congregation alone, in our country, continues to sustain its original and distinctive Huguenot character, with the exception that the French is no longer used.

The Rev. Mr. Rosser, a well-known, zealous, and eloquent preacher of the Virginia Conference, informed the writer that he was, years ago, invited to preach a sermon in this Huguenot house of the Lord. He is himself a descendant of the French Protestants in Virginia, and when preparing to enter the pulpit, on this occasion, from the vestry, the "ancients," or elders, robed him in an old, much-worn, and threadbare clerical gown. Perceiving the surprise of the preacher, they remarked, that this venerable mantle had been used by the early Huguenot pastor. It was now emphatically their "ROBE of HONOR," and when placed upon a visitor, the congregation considered him especially respected.

ART. VI.—SLAVERY—THE TIMES.

THE quadrennial political simoon has swept by, and its murmurs alone linger; it is a befitting time for us to review the great question upon which its chief force has been expended. We make no apology for having delayed the subject; we confess ourselves so far "expedientists" as to believe that a good work should be done at the best time for it; that in proportion as it is momentous should be its prudent management. Anything we could have said on the question during the political furor would have been comparatively useless, probably worse, and we do not agree with the "abstractionists" who believe that good men should "utter their verdict" on such questions independently of consequences; if consequences are not the rule of duty, yet are they among the first canons by which the rule of duty is to be expounded. Policy and duty are always reconcilable in the course of an upright man.

We have a duty to perform respecting this question; we acknowledge, indeed, the obligation to be a peculiar, if not a paramount one, compared with that of the conductors of our hebdomadal Methodist press. The subject belongs to them legitimately enough; but they are set for the more local and practical promotion of the Church:

its current ecclesiastical interests make up their staple contents, and should do so; none of us would wish them to become "anti-slavery organs," "hobbyists" of this one theme, rather than good Methodist family papers, for harm may be done even to a good question and among its best friends by its excessive iteration from week to week; there is good sense in the vulgar proverb about "too much of a good thing," and any of our weekly editors who should continually belabor even the "Temperance Question" would hardly fail to "founder." Coming, however, as we do with our measured quarterly visits, and constrained, whether we will or not, to a grave demeanor by the prescribed "dignities" of the "Quarterly Review," we may be allowed a more thorough and prolonged discussion of the subject. We set out to-day assuming this prerogative, and propose to review in a series of articles the *latest phase of the question*, the *causes* which have given it that phase, its *relations to our own Church*, its *prospects* in both Church and State, and the *right and wrong* of our Church parties respecting it. These topics, we believe, will afford interest and, it may be, profit to our readers.

We have one more remark to premise; no partisan must look to this discussion for a party endorsement of his position; we believe that the subject needs at this moment more than at any other in its history, the frank, sober, independent utterance of thoughtful men, men loyal to the Church and the State. Party organizations are doubtless necessary; in the practical effectuation of opinions they are a good because a necessity; in the discussion and ascertainment of opinions they are almost as essentially an evil. They can act, but they will not, perhaps cannot, think. We set out, then, to speak from our own individual point of view. There is no self-respectful man of any party who will not take off his hat and sit down with us to the calm and candid conversation, and close it at last on terms of mutual courtesy, though, it may be, with important differences of opinion. Political allusions even will be allowed us; for how can the question be discussed without them? and if, before we get through, we shall have to gesticulate right and left against our own ecclesiastical parties on the question, we hope that even this risk of the *odium theologicum* will not be a serious peril.

What we have alluded to as the "*latest phase of the question*," is the very noticeable retrogression of public opinion upon it, in the South. It is one of the moral phenomena of our times; an exceedingly sad, and, we fear, an exceedingly portentous one. It has been called by one of our Church papers, in terms scarcely exaggerated, "The Great American Apostasy." This change, almost a revolution in its suddenness and extent, has not, we hope, involved generally

the individual religious mind of the South; that would, indeed, seem morally impossible, but it cannot be denied that it has fully revealed itself in the Southern *public sentiment*, religious as well as political. We doubt not, too, that men not religious, but thoughtful and patriotic, throughout the South, regret it; we are inclined to think that all along the "Border" the humane, not to say Christian sentiments of the founders of the Republic prevail together even with the denunciation of "Northern abolitionism," and we are sure that the discussions of our last General Conference demonstrate that our own Methodist community there, have not swerved from the sentiments of the fathers of the country and the Church on the subject, if they may not have kept pace with our own. Our remarks apply, therefore, mostly to the further South, but, nevertheless, to the great solid mass of the South. The public bodies, the political guides, the popular press, the leading theologians stand almost uniformly committed to the "Great Apostasy."

So unquestionable is this change, that we suppose it unnecessary to argue the fact even with a Southern reader; but it may not be historically or logically unimportant to measure it somewhat. As a moral fact and a moral indication, the philosopher and the theologian cannot fail to view it with deep interest.

The fathers of American statesmanship were nearly all, if not all, what would properly in this day be called *anti-slavery* men; we say not "abolitionists," for that term has received among us a conventional meaning which qualifies much its etymological sense. Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Madison, Monroe, Lee, not to speak of their great Northern cotemporaries, uttered sentiments against slavery which, if now asserted in the South, would be retorted with proscription and violence.

It is certainly a startling fact, that if Washington and Jefferson could reappear to-day, unrecognized but *unchanged*, in the midst of the South, avowing the sentiments which they once uttered there, they would be swung from the gibbet or die under the lash. The fact is as undeniable as it is significant.

Washington's sentiments on slavery are well known; they are summarily expressed in a letter to Robert Morris: "I can only say," said the good, great man, "I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it, [slavery.] But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by the legislative authority, and this, *so far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting.*" He said the same to the first Methodist bishops, Coke and Asbury; and in a letter to John F. Mercer, he writes, "It is

among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be *abolished by law*." Where, with these sentiments, would Washington stand in the politics of our day? We ask not the question for political effect; we see well enough in this language his *political principles* on the subject; but we profess not to know what party representation of them, his supreme good sense would have chosen under our circumstances; one thing, however, we do know, we know he would not have abandoned his principles, and, by a local or partisan resentment, thrown himself upon the defense—as an abstract and concrete, a present and permanent good—of an institution which is in contrast with all the opinions for which he fought, and all the institutions which he founded; we know this because we know the *man*.

Scarcely less dear to Virginians is the memory of Patrick Henry. There are considerate Virginians who will read these pages, and who will allow us to quote a few of his eloquent words, words which, if uttered now by our own laborious preachers among them, would probably be cited in court by a zealous "Southern Methodist," as a reason for their expulsion from the land, and the forfeiture of their chapels to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. "I will not, I cannot justify it," said Patrick Henry in a letter to Robert Pleasants. — "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this *lamentable evil*. Everything we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an *abhorrence for slavery*. It is a debt we owe to the purity of religion to show it is at variance with that which warrants slavery." And yet in our day, an eminent and talented man, a Doctor in the Church and an instructor of Virginia youth, has traveled through towns around the very graves of these great and good statesmen, not to prove that "it is a debt we owe to the purity of religion to show that it is at variance with that which warrants slavery," but to assert that slavery itself is warranted by the purity of religion.* We say the literal truth; we would be scrupulous against the slightest exaggeration of so grave and sad a fact.

James Monroe made a speech against slavery in the Virginia Convention. "We have found," he said, "that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and been prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed." How much more emphatically could he thus speak were he now alive. Mr. Madison assures us that such was the anti-slavery *spirit* of the framers of the Constitution,

* Rev. Dr. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College. See his "Philosophy and Practice of Slavery."

that the convention, with Washington at its head, refused to insert the word "slave" in that document, but substituted it, in the Fugitive Slave Clause, and on motion of a South Carolinian, by the phrase "person held to service or labor."*

Mr. Jefferson's protests against the evil were reiterated and extreme. He declared in his "Notes on Virginia," that "in such a controversy" as an insurrection, "there was no attribute of the Almighty which could take side with us." In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he alleged the imposition of slavery on the country by the British government, as one of the reasons for the revolt of the colonies. He records the fact that he made a speech for emancipation in the Virginia Colonial Legislature as early as 1769. In 1774, he drew up the "instructions" of the Virginia Legislature to her representatives in Congress, in which are these remarkable words:

"The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was *unhappily introduced in their* INFANT state. How applicable to our territories! But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs, to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice."

This document was *adopted by the Legislature of Virginia*. After the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, with Messrs. Pendleton and Wythe, were constituted a committee to revise and codify the laws of Virginia. Of one of the bills he says:

° It is a noteworthy fact that the Constitution of the Republic does not recognize slaves as property. It was proposed in the Convention that formed it, to tax the importation of slaves—a beneficent intention doubtless, but Mr. Sherman objected, that this would be a recognition of *property in slaves*, and Mr. Gerry protested that, "as Congress would have no power over the institution within the states, we ought to be careful to lend no *sanction to it*." The proposition was therefore so changed as to read, "A tax of not more than \$10 for each *person* might be levied"—the word *property* being excluded by *unanimous* consent of the Convention. Some of the states proposed an amendment to the Constitution, declaring "that no *person* shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; that is, without trial and conviction of crime." Some Virginians perceived that this would militate against future claims of property in slaves; the Virginia Convention proposed, therefore, to limit the amendment to "*free men*;" but the necessary majority of states decided for the present reading—a most important fact in the determination of our late Constitutional questions on the subject. We may add, that after the full discussion of the question before the Supreme Court in 1842, Judge M'Lean, much to his credit, both as a learned and a Christian jurist, decided that the *Federal Constitution does not recognize slaves as property*. Judge Taney concurred.

"The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on; that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not far distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free: nor is it less certain that the two races equally free cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors—the precedent would fall far short of our case."

Afterward, writing to M. de Musnier, who had attributed the defeat of this plan to the absence of Mr. Jefferson, who was in France, and Mr. Wythe, who was then a member of the Judiciary Department, Mr. Jefferson says:

"But there were not wanting in that assembly men of virtue enough to propose, and talents enough to vindicate this clause. But they saw that the time for doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivering oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await, with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

Maryland, in 1783, adopted the measure which, in Virginia, on motion of Mr. Jefferson, (1778,) prohibited the slave trade, and also the Virginia example of 1782, removing restraints on emancipation.

Such were the sensible views of this subject then current among thoughtful men in Virginia, and we will not believe they are yet extinct. Our own Church there, at least, has never receded from them so far as they come under her ecclesiastical recognition. An organization only for religious ends, scrupulous against any party committals, whether to the North or to the South, and believing that her legitimate agency as an ecclesiastical body, in this as in any

other improvement of the people, is the promotion of true religion among them, she has not, nevertheless, disguised her ancient sentiment upon the subject, but stands amid the clamors of all parties steadily insisting upon the amelioration and extirpation of the great evil as the legitimate result, in due time, of a pure Christianity.

With such sentiments almost if not quite universal among the statesmen and devout men of our early history, with what alarm would they have anticipated the later growth of the institution? Would they have failed to provide decisive precautions against the foreshadowed disaster? And is it for us, amid the unlooked-for and confounding exaggerations of the evil, only to seek new methods of enhancing it? Glance at its subsequent and appalling growth. There were 530,357 slaves in the Atlantic States in 1790, and 1,204,221 in 1850; in the Gulf States there were 225,481 slaves in 1820, and in 1850 there were 1,242,251; an increase of 2.05 per cent. per annum in the slave population of the Atlantic States since 1790; in the same time there was an increase of 6.06 per cent. in Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia; while in the Gulf States the increase has been 18 per cent. The proportion of slave population to the whole population has increased in South Carolina from 43 per cent., since 1790, to 57 per cent. in 1850. In Georgia, during the same period, it has risen from 35 per cent. to 42 per cent. In 1790 we had 697,897 slaves, and in 1850 we had 3,204,313—a population in bonds larger than was our whole population at the time when we deemed it just to draw the sword for our independence—and this fettered nation within the nation, assured by the hand that wrote our Declaration of Independence, that in case of their rising in like manner, “there is no attribute of God which would take side with us,” their masters! Is it indeed policy not to speak of patriotic virtue, to enlarge and entail over the yet unblighted domain of the country the stupendous calamity?

These passages will suffice to indicate the deplorable revolution of opinion which has followed those purer days, in most of the South, on the *general subject*. On the special question of the *extension* of slavery they bear also, though indirectly; men who deplored slavery like Washington, Henry, and Jefferson, could not but deprecate it. Every motive for its suppression was with them a reason against its extension. They represented, as we believe, what was then the common Christian and patriotic sentiment against it, recognizing it as an evil which, because it had become complicated with our social system, must be treated with caution, but which, under such treatment, must inevitably be ameliorated until it should be exterminated. The thought of its being fortified into a permanent

institution of the country, and a dominant influence in its policy, would have revolted their profoundest moral and political sentiments. Much more then would they have been startled at the later policy of *extending* it over territories unblighted by the barbarous and dangerous curse. It is, indeed, difficult for a mind uncommitted to the party politics of the day, and retaining any of the old national sentiment of liberty, to contemplate this aspect of the question without a species of horror. That the great arena won by the arms of the Revolution expressly for liberty, should, in its fairest sections, be converted into slave fields, that the government which, among all upon earth, is most avowedly based on the recognition of man's liberty, should be the only one on earth to sanction a national system of slave propagandism, is indeed a fact to startle the world and lay in the very dust the self-respect of the country.

The policy proposed by the fathers of the nation respecting the great "*Western Territory*," immediately after the Revolution, proves demonstratively that they entertained what are called "the modern anti-slavery doctrines" against "slave extension." The "ordinance" framed by a committee consisting of Mr. Jefferson, (chairman,) Mr. Chase, of Md., Mr. Howell, of R. I., contemplated the whole vast region then comprised within our boundaries North of the 31st degree of latitude and West of the old thirteen states—the whole of the "territories" that then belonged to the several states. It included some of our present slave states. It was proposed to divide this magnificent territory into seventeen states, eight of them south of the parallel of Louisville, (the Falls of the Ohio, as then called,) and nine north of it. Mr. Jefferson reported, among other laws for this region, the following:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said *states*, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty."

For this act six states voted ay; three only nay; of the members present fifteen voted for and only six against it; but as the "Articles of Confederation" required the vote of nine states to enact any proposition, the proviso failed, though seconded by so large a majority. Three years after, the last Continental Congress, sitting in New-York, adopted the "*Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River*," the more southern regions comprised in Mr. Jefferson's bill not being ceded to the general government by the states which had claimed colonial jurisdiction over them. The "*Ordinance*" embraced many of the provisions of Mr. Jefferson's bill, and declared that

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly convicted."

This ordinance was *unanimously* adopted, not even Georgia or the Carolinas dissenting. Early attempts to escape its anti-slavery restrictions were manfully defeated by our statesmen. The new territory of Indiana struggled for a relaxation of the law in its own favor; a convention, in which the territorial governor presided, was held in 1802-3, and urgently petitioned Congress to suspend the clause temporarily in its behalf. A committee of the House, consisting of three members, two of whom were from the South, reported through Mr. Randolph, their chairman, against the petition. Mr. Randolph (himself a slaveholder) said in the report:

"The Committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor, and of emigration."

During four years was this attempt to *extend* slavery into the Indiana Territory (now the splendid States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) repeated before Congress; not till Nov. 13, 1807, was it put to rest by a committee which reported through Mr. J. Franklin, (a Carolinian,) declaring its inexpediency. Such, then, was the fate of an attempt to extend slavery, made not by slaveholders, but by citizens of a free territory, and defeated under the leadership of Southern men. What has since been our dominant policy? What but "compromises" and apostasies from the primitive statesman-like and Christian-like doctrines of the country? We need not speak of the Missouri Compromise, with its three desperate struggles; the annexation of Texas, an event most desirable in itself, but wrongly secured by our new policy; the Wilmot Proviso contest; the Oregon question, with the attempt of the Senate, under the leadership of Mr. Douglass, to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; the Compromise of 1850, with its gigantic struggles; and last, and worst, and most irredeemable of all our national disgraces, the Kansas-Nebraska conflict, with the unparalleled barbarities of its territorial laws, its civil war, fire, and sword, and menaced revolution of the republic. How has the glory departed, how have the mighty fallen; alas for us and our children that the fathers are no more!

But this mournful retrogression of public opinion has revealed itself in a third, and, if possible, a more serious result, namely, the

virtual recognition of *slavery as a condition of the balance of power and of parties* in the government. The preponderating share which it has had for years in the patronage of the government—in appointments at home and abroad—egregious as it has been, is but a trifling incident compared with the deplorable fact now stated. The constitutional provision for Southern representatives in Congress, proportioned to the slave population, was but an accommodation to what was supposed to be but a temporary disadvantage of the South, and was in accordance with the other sentiments of the framers of the Constitution, on the subject. But it has come to be taken by the South, and for years it has been practically conceded by the government, that in extensions of territory, admissions of new states, and, in fine, all great public measures which can at all admit of the recognition of slavery, the barbarous institution is to be taken into account and *graduated to the national development*—that slavery, in brief, is the only great stake of half the republic in this grand modern experiment of popular freedom and Christian civilization! We need not argue this startling fact; it is patent in our whole political history, from the Missouri Compromise down to this hour. It seems to have become an habitual sentiment in the very political consciousness of our Southern brethren. The balance of power between North and South depends, in Southern opinion, not on any of those intrinsic interests of freedom, defense, commerce, civilization, which the enlightened legislation of the age admits, but upon an abnormal and barbarous fact of Southern life—a fact which the founders of the government lamented and expected to see extinguished—a fact which involves the interests of but a small proportion of the local white population, and which, in the language of Monroe, “We have found to prey upon the very vitals of the Union, and to be prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed.” When the South is spoken of, it is slavery that is meant; when a public measure is propounded, it is its relation to slavery that is questioned; when a new national development is at hand, how to give slavery its due ratio of importance to it, is the inquiry of Southern statesmen. Not so it is between any other of the three sections of the country; the East with its factories, and the West with its farms, have their respective interests, but, like all great and real interests, they are found to be coincident, and bind rather than peril the Union; the South has sufficient real and local interests for an equally distinct and yet harmonious relative position, but all are overshadowed, if not utterly obscured, by the one disastrous question.

And now that, by the rapid development of the North, through

immigration and free labor, this deplorable policy of the equalization of free and slave progress cannot possibly be farther maintained, its advocates dare to broach suggestions which would have startled with indignation the fathers of the Republic—nothing less than the re-opening of the African slave trade, (which the fathers were the first, among all nations, to brand as piracy and to disgrace with the gibbet,) in order to keep up, not the *South*, but *Southern slavery*, the curse of the South, with the progress of freedom and its blessings in the North; or, as the only alternative, *a change of the Constitution* divesting the free states of the legitimate advantages of their superior condition.* It is acknowledged by them that the facts are sternly against slavery—that the North has the larger population—that it has sixteen millions, while the South has only ten millions; that the free States include only six hundred and twelve thousand square miles, while the slave states contain eight hundred and fifty-six thousand; that, therefore, with an equal application of its force to agricultural purposes, the North has an excess of about eight million people to apply to arts and emigration; that to every man, woman, and child, white or black, in the Southern states, there are about fifty-five acres of land to be cultivated; that every individual in the Southern states is not competent to the cultivation of such an amount of land; that there is land, therefore, beyond the wants of the Southern population; that they have no motive of interest to emigrate to other lands; that they cannot stay and cultivate their own lands and go abroad and cultivate others; and in view of these facts, it must be admitted that the Territory of Kansas or any other territory is not the want of the South, and not being its want, it is not fairly to be supposed that the South can take it; that if the South could send parties there, and hold it in military subjection, yet it is not to be supposed that she will persevere in such an occupation without the hope of ultimately sustaining it by emigration; and if this is not to be expected of Kansas, how much less probable is it in respect to the nearly two million square miles of territory, which still remain beyond the thirty-one States—territory out of which thirty states as large as that of New-York may be constituted?†

* Charleston Standard, S. C. "We must," says this journal, "demand a modification of the Constitution, or we must demand slaves, and the sooner we come to an election between these alternatives, the greater will be our chances of success." Its change of the Constitution is to "give a veto to the South upon Federal legislation."

† The Charleston (S. C.) Standard admits fully these difficulties. It says: "One class of politicians at the South propose a revision of the Constitution, so that the South shall have a veto upon the Federal legislation. Another proposes

While the North have sixteen millions and sixteen states, and the South has only ten million of people and fifteen states, and while it is assumed that the majority must govern, it is not within the range of possibility that slavery will hereafter be able to maintain its former importance in the Federal policy, except by one or the other of the alternatives—the reopening of the slave trade, or a change of the Constitution in favor of the South. Neither of them, however, is practicable; the moral force of the nation must give way before the one can be adopted, and the moral force of the civilized world before the other can be admitted, even for discussion. There is but one course left short of revolution and dissolution, it is the restoration of the primitive sentiment of the country respecting slavery—the sentiment avowed by its founders—the sentiment that is legitimate to the spirit of its constitution, to its early history, to all that is good in its destiny, to the true interests of the South, to the civilization of these latter ages, to the self-respect of our common humanity, to the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. There are good men, we trust, all through the South, who still hold dear that sentiment; they must resist the ultraism around them as should good men in the North; on this condition only can there be hope for us and our children. But of that hope we shall speak hereafter; we are not yet through with our attempt to fathom the depth of corrupt public opinion into which we have fallen, under the guidance of reckless and demagogical leaders—a guidance from which the better moral sentiment of the land generally must revolt before *any* ground of hope can be sure to us.

We say then, further, that this “great apostasy”—and certainly by this time the thoughtful reader, of whatever party or locality, will admit the phrase—has revealed itself not only in a change of our original doctrine and national policy on the question; it has, if

to bring in foreign slaves, and thus acquire the ability to expand *pari passu* with the North. But if in neither of these ways can we find the road to political security, we have no hope of finding it in expansion. We regret the inability to indulge in the illusious which we believe are agreeable to the great majority of our people. There are many who believe we can take Kansas, and are unwilling that discouragements should be thrown in the way of efforts to that end; but we believe it is *not policy to expand our energies upon a cause that can never be successful*. If we take that territory, the triumph will be illusive; we must take it at the expense of population from the older States. When we get it, the North will be ready with Nebraska. The States will then stand seventeen to sixteen. *The North will soon be ready with another and another, when we cannot keep in even this proximity to them*. At last we must ultimately fall from the greater impediments under which we labor, and we think it best that the public mind should be relieved from such illusive hopes, and be fixed, as soon as possible, upon the stern realities before us.”

possible, a still more mournful revelation in the wide-spread degeneration of the public mind respecting not only slavery, but liberty, the honor of free labor, the dignity of virtuous and industrious poverty, and most other relative and once national sentiments—sentiments in vindication of which the swords of our fathers would have leaped from their scabbards, but which are now hooted by many of the very organs and guides of public opinion among us. Glance along the following extracts if you would have proof of the sad degeneration, the madness of folly which has overtaken us.

The *Richmond Examiner* declares that,

"Until recently, the defense of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were mere apologists) took half-way grounds. They confined the defense of slavery to mere negro slavery; thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong. The line of defense, however, is now changed. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural, and necessary, and does not depend on difference of complexion. The laws of the slave states justify the holding of white men in bondage."

Another *Richmond* paper, the *Enquirer*, follows thus :

"Repeatedly have we asked the North, 'Has not the experiment of universal liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? And do not most thinking men among you propose to subvert and reconstruct it?' Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof added to many other conclusive evidences we have furnished, that free society, in the long run, is an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere starving, demoralizing, and insurrectionary. We repeat, then, that policy and humanity alike forbid the existence of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations. Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, coexist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist, the other become universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall, and give way to a slave society—a social system, old as the world, universal as man."

This same paper quotes and endorses, from a work entitled "*Free Society a Failure*," by George Fitzhugh, the following sentiments :

"Life and liberty are not inalienable. The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false and arborescently fallacious."

"We would not have your rich, vulgar, licentious bosses and your brutal, insubordinate factory hands in our midst for all

'The wealth of Ormus and of Ind.'

We would not exchange our situation for the countless millions of paupers and criminals who build up and sustain the cowardly, infidel, licentious revolutionary edifice of free society."

"Two hundred years of labor have made white laborers a pauper banditti."

"Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery is the healthy, and beautiful, and natural condition which they are trying unconsciously to adopt."

"The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed."

"Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than the free laborers, but their moral condition is better."

"Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary."

"Nature has made the weak in mind and body slaves."

The South Side Democrat says:

"We have got to hating everything with the prefix of FREE, down and up the whole catalogue—FREE farms, FREE labor, FREE society, FREE will, FREE THINKING, FREE children, and FREE schools—all belonging to the same brood of damnable isms."

The leading newspaper of South Carolina, the Charleston Mercury, speaks thus:

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free society is, that it is burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government, yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern states will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a delusion."

The Alabama press thus gives in its adhesion to this infamous doctrine in the Muscogee Herald:

"Free society! we sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moonstruck theorists? All the Northern, and especially the New-England states, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with, is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery; and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body-servant. This is your free society, which the Northern hordes are endeavoring to extend into Kansas."

Even so respectable a journal as the New-Orleans Delta, in pleading for the "reopening of the slave trade," declares:

"We have a proposition to lay down that may appear startling to many, because it is new, but will have weight and consideration with the thinking, inasmuch as it is based on both philosophy and experience. We, therefore, declare that slavery is not only national, of origin and of right, but it is essential to republican nationality. But for slavery, Republicanism would have long since become a tale in these United States. It is among the slaveholding population that Republicanism has had its true home and only defense. It is they who have made the Union what it is commercially and politically. It is only they who can hereafter maintain a safe and honorable Union, and enjoy rational liberty."

The same paper asserts that

"Modern free society, as at present organized, is radically wrong and rotten. It is self-destroying, and can never exist happily and normally until it is qualified by the introduction of some principle equivalent in effect to the institution of Southern negro slavery."

Such, then, are the sentiments of the day, echoed by influential journals from Richmond to Charleston, from Charleston to New-

Orleans. "Slavery is right *per se*," affirms the Rev. President Smith, of Randolph Macon College, in the very first sentence of his book: "Slavery is right *per se*; the great abstract principle of slavery is right, because it is a fundamental principle of the social state," and from these premises flow consistently and inevitably the barbarous and monstrous sentiments we have quoted. How would they have sounded to our fathers? How must they appear to liberal and earnest men throughout the Old World, who, in their struggles for popular liberty, have been wont to point to us as the vindication of their long deferred-hopes? What would become of everything essentially distinctive of modern civilization if these degrading views of labor, of liberty, of man, were to prevail? What destiny could remain for Christianity itself? They need not refutation; the intuitions of the popular mind recognize them as "lies;" the moral instincts of humanity revolt from them as not admissible even to consideration.

God forbid that we should assume that these are the common sentiments of the Christian public of the South; we do not and will not believe that her millions of non-slaveholding white citizens, who, with the three and a half millions of slaves, may be set off in contrast with her three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, have sunk down from all the nobler primitive sentiments of the country to this degradation. But what we must affirm is, the undeniable fact, that the degradation—the "great apostasy"—has become so widespread and so profound, that these are nearly the only sentiments on the subject which are rife in her public journals and political discussions—that throughout an extent of the Republic, equal to half of Europe, any man who should openly denounce them and affirm against them the generous opinions of the fathers of the country, would be exiled or hanged. This is the condition we have reached, in the retrogression of the Southern public mind. We do not and dare not deny it. It is obvious to us all and to all the world. There are thousands of upright and self-respectful men in the South, some of whom will read these quotations with the same indignant disgust with which we cite them, but they are helpless; they find it not possible to respond to the instincts of self-respect and common humanity which revolt within them, at the debasement of public opinion around them. And here precisely do we, and they also, see the most grievous fact of that debasement—manly *utterance* is gone!—moral *courage* itself must cower to the dust, or throw itself against invincible prejudice and unendurable injury. Alas for both good men and evil, when the moral sense of a community is thus overthrown and confounded.

Thus have sentiments the most generous and the most consecrated in the traditional opinions of the country, become outraged through more than half of the land—and none more so than the one which was most fundamental in our history, most frequent on the lips of our fathers, and which, sent forth to the world, with the eloquence of their Council Halls and the shouts of their battle-fields, has been received as the Democratic motto of the race. It has become the self-complacent folly of pretentious, but puny-minded men among us, to laugh at the assertion of human equality, made in the Declaration of Independence, as no longer worthy of serious refutation. The supreme self-conceit of this profanity should excite the scorn of the popular common sense. Lord Brougham has somewhere remarked, that weak minds, in eulogizing better ones, usually reserve a compliment to themselves, by the use of the qualifying “but;” the illustrious “signers” were great men indeed, “but” I excel them in some respects; they made a declaration which I see was fallacious. The occasion is a tempting one for such weak folly; the assembly that committed the alleged fallacy represented the wisdom of the New World and the epoch of a new history of humanity; a capital proof of sagacity in us must it be, therefore, to detect and expose their errors. Rev. President Smith attempts the task through whole pages; the assertion “that all men are created equal” has been hooted even in the national legislature, and grandiloquent rhetoricians, whose glitter only disguises their want of logic, have criticised the noblest document of modern history, as a series of glittering, but fallacious generalizations. It is time that this folly were rebuked. Never were there engaged in the preparation of any document, five men more imbued with common sense and practical shrewdness, than the committee which submitted to Congress, The Declaration of American Independence. Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams, were not men to dabble in glittering abstractions, or to head the revolution of a continent with the ambiguities of political *doctrinaires*. The “Declaration” is, throughout, a rigid enumeration of stern facts, and none was more sternly true nor sternly potent, than its assertion of the original equality of man. The quibbling question of whether men are born under equal circumstances, or with equal capacities, or to equal positions in society, is an imbecile irrelevancy, at which those practical sages would have smiled; their meaning was obvious enough, and was obviously not this. As well might their critics have required Michael Angelo to inscribe under his Moses, “This is not the child Samuel,” or Greenough under his colossal Washington, “This is not General Tom Thumb,”

as to demand qualifications to the sublime postulate upon which our fathers staked the Revolution. They knew well enough the inevitable differences of the capacity of men, and of the gradations of social and political society; they were too wise to dream of ever equalizing them. But they recognized that back of all these incidents of human life, humanity is *one*—that before its great Author, and under his divine economy, to which all human governmental systems are subordinate, collective humanity stands on one common platform; its original rights, therefore, are the same, and human governments should be based on the recognition of this grand fact. This was their doctrine, and it was the sublimest verdict rendered for humanity from the councils of nations, since the foundation of the world. It is of the very essence of Christianity; it is fundamental in that Democratic development, which, as De Toqueville has taught the Old World, is the invincible law of modern civilization. The common people should shout it to the four ends of the earth, and should shout down with their manly denunciations the rhetorical Pharisee, whether North or South, who impeaches its sublime significance, or its noble and far-seeing propounders.

With such apostasy from the old and better sentiments of the land, we might well expect other signs of demoralization, more startling, if not more fundamental. Shall we add to the grievous catalogue one more example?

In the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal for December 25, 1856, is a report from a Boston physician, which was read before the Boston Medical Society; it opens with a telling literalness, thus:

"The first blow produced insensibility. It is not certain how many blows he received; they were many. He bled profusely, and fell insensible on the floor. When he was removed to the ante-room, it was thought he could not survive. He had two gashes on the back of the head, one above each ear, about two or two and a half inches in length. These gashes went through the scalp to the bone, which was laid bare, but it is supposed not fractured. Besides these, he had bruises on the face, on the back of each hand, and on the arms. When I saw him early on Wednesday, for the first time, professionally, he had a high fever, pulse 104, intense pain in the head, eyes suffused, and extreme nervousness. The scalp above the right ear was inflamed, having the appearance of erysipelas. This inflammation extended to the glands of the neck, which were swollen and tender to the touch. On examination it was found that pus had formed under the scalp, which escaped readily on opening the wound, which had been closed over with collodion. Mr. S. had suffered so much during the last ten hours, that he had become very much exhausted. He was put under the influence of opium; the wound was poulticed, and perfect rest enjoined. For three days he was in a critical situation. The local inflammation, the danger of poison from the absorption of pus, and the extreme nervous exhaustion, made it a formidable case."

Who was the victim thus brutally smitten? A senator of the nation; that is enough said for his character, whatever might be added. Where was the deed of vulgar ruffianism perpetrated? In the legislative hall, while he sat unarmed and unwarned in his senatorial chair. Who did it? A representative of the law and honor of the nation—let his name not be mentioned—the quickest possible oblivion upon his grave is his best possible eulogium. Let us veil the personal facts with haste; but what were the *public indications* connected with the shocking scene? Defiant of the congressional examination of the deed, its perpetrator resigns his seat in the House, and turns with an appeal to his constituents. They are a Christian people, it is supposed, civilized at least, and sharing those sentiments of “honor,” so called, which had banished with contempt from the South, the bludgeon and pugilism, and substituted the more “chivalrous,” though more fatal use of arms. How do they reply to his appeal, while yet the hissing of the civilized world is heard at the mention of the deed? They *send him back again*, their representative before the nation and the world! Fathers who have frank and noble-hearted boys, incapable yet of comprehending the cowardly crime, went to the polls and consecrated, with the solemnity of a public vote, an example, which, if followed hereafter by their sons, must darken their lives and graves with shame. Probable even is it that men who that morning read their usual household lessons of Christian sobriety and piety in the Bible, marched on with the shouting multitude to vote this insult in the face of Christendom and of Heaven! The dishonored man, dishonored among all the rest of his race, is received at public assemblies, is publicly banqueted, is voted a cane, as another bludgeon for similar crimes; men from the highest functions of the state, and from the legislative halls of the nation, address him in orations on the occasion. But a mightier voice addresses him; he is suddenly called away to a higher account. And now when death appears amid the clamor, and bids the heedless passions of the hour give way to better reflections, is the stern lesson regarded? The newspapers tell us that

“On the arrival of the news at Columbia, the mayor ordered the town bell to be tolled, and the exercises at the South Carolina College were immediately suspended. At Charleston, a large Palmetto tree, standing on one of the streets, was draped in mourning, and the flags of the shipping in port, and on the public buildings, placed at half mast. Throughout the state the same extravagant homage was paid to his unhappy memory.”

Christian men of the South, was there not once a day when the religion of the South would have shrunk from such a scene? *Gentlemen* of the South, was there not once a day in which the chivalry

of the South would have disdained this triumph of the bludgeon? Is there one yet among you as *Christians* or *gentlemen* who would not disdain us, were we to refer to the case in other language than that of indignation and disdain? Is there one among you that does not see that demagogical leaders and a reckless press have fermented local passions, till they have subverted the ties of our common citizenship, common honor, and common religion?

We have not referred to the provocations of either party in this wretched scene; that is not necessary. We have never approved the severities of Mr. Sumner's speech; we read them with sadness; they were not the legitimate language of Charles Sumner, the accomplished gentleman and scholar—the disciple and friend of Story, and Channing, and Alston; but they were mild, compared with the long-continued and studied provocations of his opponents—provocations from men in a majority that could have afforded to respect its own strength, at least, against a minority, which, with whatever imputed errors, could claim the self-respect of talents, dignity, and gallant steadfastness to its position. We condemn the provocations of both sides; but we assert, in the name of Christian morals and national honor, that *no provocations* can justify the deed we have condemned, or the public homage with which it has been crowned.

We have already alluded to a fifth fact in this latest phase of the question—the proposition to *re-open the African slave trade*. Here, at least, was a point, at which we might have hoped the audacity of the times would hesitate; but it has not. The civilized nations of the world (at the instance of our own) have banded together to sweep this enormity from the seas; its penalty is capital; its past horrors form the most revolting page in modern history; thoughtful men must see, that however tolerated and regulated by law the traffic might be, yet with the usual motives of gain set off against those of humanity, the horrors of the middle passage, the sacrifice of health, decency, and life, for the sake of the larger cargo or speedier voyage, must still prevail; the traffic on the coast must enlist the interior tribes, and ravage them with mutual wars for captives; the domestic trade, already a detestation among us, must, with unavoidable abuses, become a main business of half the Union; and yet this traffic in men, women, and children, spreading the sea with horrors, demoralizing one continent and devastating another, finds unblushing advocates throughout the South. The New-Orleans Delta says:

“We shall announce it, and here declare, that we not only desire to make territories now free, slave territories, and to acquire new territory into which to extend slavery, such as Cuba, Northeastern Mexico, etc., but we would re-

open the African slave trade, that every white man might have a chance to make himself owner of one or more negroes, and go with them and his household gods wherever opportunity beckoned to enterprise."

The Charleston (S. C.) Standard says:

"That instead of a flank, we must present a front; instead of fear, we must have hope; instead of endurance, action; and to the end of changing our attitude in the contest, and of planting our standard right in the very faces of our adversaries, we propose, as a leading principle of Southern policy, to reopen legitimate the slave trade. There were few at first to come to this position. The Southern journals were generally silent, and all those which spoke, except the Charleston Mercury and the Richmond Examiner, deprecated its temerity. Since that time, however, there have been many circumstances to affect opinion at the South; * * * the minds of men are further forced to vibrate between the alternatives of perpetual dependence or the slave trade."

Both these papers have exultingly approved Walker's attempt to restore slavery in Nicaragua, where the semi-barbarous natives had abolished it—the former with an elaborate editorial to prove that civilization cannot be maintained in the Spanish Republics without it; they recommend not only slavery, but as essential to this, the speedy re-opening of the African slave trade. The Carolina Times declares:

"For our own part, we were highly pleased with the decree, for we are decidedly in favor of re-opening the slave trade, in order that the price of negroes may be reduced to such figures as that every industrious poor man may purchase and become a slaveholder. We regard the course pursued by General Walker as not only correct, but challenges the approval of the entire mass of people inhabiting the Southern states, and we believe that they will sustain him in the position he has assumed."

Thus again, from Richmond to Charleston, and from Charleston to New-Orleans, have leading journals echoed the call for the revival of a traffic which Jefferson declared to be an "infamous practice," and which even Calhoun denounced, regretting that his own state had been instrumental in keeping it open longer than it would otherwise have continued.

Higher authority even has joined in the demand. Governor Adams, of South Carolina, has ventured to recommend the nefarious design to the Legislature of that state. In his message he said:

"To maintain our present position, we must have cheap labor also. This can be obtained in but one way, by re-opening the slave trade."

"Had the slave trade never been closed, the equilibrium between the North and the South never would have been destroyed."

"The Act of Congress declaring the slave trade piracy is a brand upon us which I think it important to remove."

But let us drop the vail over these mortifying facts, gladly acknowledging, as we do so, that the popular Christian sentiment of

the South has not encouraged the design, and that even the Legislature of South Carolina laid the proposition of its governor on the table.

Such, then, are some of the proofs of the "Great American Apostasy." While our pen has been tracing this sad argument, and at times quivering over the mortifying facts which make up its too conclusive logic, we have earnestly and not unprayerfully endeavored to present a practical lesson—to show the disastrous drift of the public mind in order that good men, of whatever party or locality, seeing it, might be stirred up to do what may yet be practicable to correct it. We said in the outset, that no partisan reader need look into these pages for endorsement. We write our own individual and religious convictions. We believe that if just opinions—the old opinions, we mean—on this subject, can yet be recovered, and a healthful moral temper be restored to the national mind, it must be mostly by other agencies than those which now prevail among our political parties and ecclesiastical factions. We have yet to discuss the questions, What has occasioned this degeneration? and What are its remedies? When, in a future number, we shall come to the examination of these questions, we shall have occasion to show the same frankness in respect to our Northern responsibilities for the evil, as we have shown in our proofs of its Southern and intense reality.

ART. VII.—INFLUENCE OF METHODISM UPON THE CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION OF THE WEST.

It is hard to properly define the West. Ohio and Indiana are really too far east of the Western frontier, as now fixed, to be reputable "middle states." Still harder is it to locate definitely the Western boundary. It is a changing line, moving toward the setting sun with the march of Anglo-Saxon "manifest destiny." Yet there is a literary, political, and geographical West, and of that we speak in this paper.

Its history is a marvel; its facts wear the hue of romance. Many years have not elapsed since its primeval forests stood unbroken, save where the "breath of the Almighty" had passed through, and overthrown them. The footprints of the red men are still visible, and the ripple mark of the "birch canoe" has not yet disappeared.

In the oldest of its states, yet remain the relics of the wigwam. Within a few hours' ride of the capital of Indiana, lives the remnant of a once powerful band of Miamis. We have seen some scores of them assembling in their picturesque costume, in a neighboring town, to receive their government annuity. And yet it is a land of cities whose inhabitants are counted by scores of thousands, of printing presses, of broad farms, golden grain, wide rivers and lakes, covered with floating wealth; of free homes, free Bibles, free and fearless pulpits, free men, and free women. It already has some thousands of miles of railway, and their countless trains, together with the princely steamers floating upon its waters, are thronged with its ever-moving and ever-restless population.

The rapid growth of our Western cities is so astounding as almost to seem fabulous, yet being well proved, indicates the advance of Western population. In 1830, the present City of Chicago was laid out. Ten years later it numbered 4,470; the next decade (1850) found a population of 29,964. Three years later the enrollment gave 60,000 as its sum, and when this paper shall be read, 115,000 souls will throng its busy streets. This may be an extreme case, hence we give another. Many, whose locks have hardly begun to whiten, still live, who stood upon the Ohio River where Cincinnati now stands, and around them was an almost unbroken wilderness. A few years later, and they saw a small village; a few years later still, and there were seen the commerce, the temples, the wide streets, and hurrying thousands of a great city. In 1850, it numbered 115,435; in 1853, 160,186; now it is rapidly nearing 200,000. These changes, we repeat, have occurred within less than one lifetime.

This rapid growth of its cities has been equaled by its physical and educational changes. The shop, the factory, the seminary, the college, the university, the church, these are dotted thickly everywhere. This Minerva has sprung into the arena full armed, though not full grown. Rather, we will say, the vision of the prophet has been realized: "a nation has been born at once."

The wonder excited by this rapid development, and the vigorous and manly type of Western civilization, is heightened by a brief reflection upon the character of its early population.

The West was not settled by religious colonies, coming intact, with all their appliances of Church and school; with the same teacher and ferule; the same chorister and tuning fork; the same deacon and the same dominie they had in staid New-England. The early settlers were often desperate adventurers, lured from home by the wild romance of border life, with its antlered deer, its foray, desperate charge, fierce shout, and the sharp crack of the death-

dealing rifle. They may not have been readers of romance, (the men who have *acted* it have seldom *read* it,) but they were its busy actors. After these came another class; men who coupled with this same reckless daring, a desire for cheap homes and large farms. The boys were becoming men, and the old homestead was begirt with other men's deadenings and clearings; but "out West" they could enlarge their borders, and secure a broad habitation. As peace succeeded war, as the pale face drove out the aborigines, came a motley throng. The wagon of the Connecticut deacon was followed by the team of the Carolinian, who was hard pressed by the Pennsylvania Dutchman. They swarmed from Maine, from Maryland, from "York State." "Old Virginia," with its poetical abnegation of weariness, sent a few of its *first*, and a great many of its *second*! and *third*!! families. England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Russia, Poland, Switzerland, all aided to swell the heterogeneous mass, which was drifting into the Mississippi Valley. It need scarcely be told that many of these elements were inharmonious, some essentially antagonistic, and could not readily fuse.

It will also be granted, that such a mingled, antagonistic population was not best adapted to the speedy development of a high form of civilization. There were also other adverse circumstances. Remote from presses, seldom did a newspaper find its way into the "new settlement." Schools were few and far between, and when found, the "course of study" was far from complex or elaborate. It was a real advance when a "winter school" became a settled fact, and the *master* (truly so called, as we well remember,) was bound by "the article," to teach spelling, reading, penmanship, ("a good copy-hand,") and arithmetic, as far as the Single Rule of Three. English grammar had a long and severe struggle, ere admitted to the rank of the useful sciences. Geography and natural philosophy came much later. Let no solemn sophomore shake the head, into which an idea has recently entered, and exclaim, "Barbarous, barbarous!" Not so. These men were educated for their sphere. To them, a stalwart arm was more valuable than polished scholarship; and the keen eye and steady hand were necessary accomplishments, superior to Latin and Greek. They could bring down the flying pigeon, trace the bear to his hiding-place, and circumvent the wily Indian. Who shall say they were not educated? They surely were in the utilitarian sense of that abused word. They learned in a rugged school, but they *learned well*.

The primitive Western dwelling was made of round logs, laid up in a "hollow square," the ends crossing and resting upon each other

at right angles, and were secured in their position by being "notched in." The door and floor were made of "puncheons," i. e., slabs split from large logs, and "dressed down" with an ax until of proper thinness. The roof was of clap-boards, secured in their place by long "weight-poles," laid along the roof so as to bind each course of boards. Not a nail was driven into the roof, and for that matter, sometimes, not one in the entire building. The spacious chimney received at once a half cord of wood. Cheerily crackled and roared the fire in the one room which served in all the relations of parlor, dressing-room, dining-room, sleeping-room, and kitchen; and around the hearth gathered father, mother, children, and the coy suitors who, habited in "new rig" had "come over to see the girls."

Their "gatherings" were the raising, the rolling, the husking, the quilting, the shooting-match, the election, and the wedding. For years an abundant supply of whisky was furnished at all of these, and produced its usual results. Various sports succeeded, which, to say the least, were as refined as the polka, the waltz, or german.

Of course, in such a society there would be no settled ministry. Even lately, it is said, a bishop resigned a Western see because the social and moral condition of the people were so uncongenial to his own. What would this self-denying "successor of the apostles" have done, had he been elected a quarter of a century sooner, and had suddenly found himself in an uproarious frontier shooting-match? Houses of worship were necessarily few and remote from each other. There were no provisions for the support or accommodation of ministers, and though they might safely reckon upon a share of the generous backwoodsman's cheer, and the hospitality of his cabin, they could expect but little more.

And now here is this composite population, with these conflicting elements, under circumstances adverse to mental and moral culture, and which apparently tend to develop the physical instead of the spiritual—in short, under conditions indicating a return to savage life, or at least to semi-barbarism. Yet such has not been the result. In its stead is a compact and massive civilization, full of *push*, and instinct with vitalized energy; building cities, tunneling mountains, spanning rivers, holding politically in its mighty grasp the angry North and the inflammatory South, and bidding them be still! And this West, so recently a wilderness, is preparing to assume its position as the law-maker of this great nation.

What has worked such results? Who can answer, and by answering give us the *rationale* of the swiftest progress the world has

ever seen, and write a most instructive chapter in the volume of historical philosophy?

A full answer to this question is beyond the scope and purpose of this paper. It only designs to notice the influence of *one power*. A distinguished jurist, Judge of Supreme Court in one of the Western states, used to say, "But for the Methodist Church and the Methodist ministry, this country would have sunk into barbarism." We will not argue the truth of this sweeping declaration, but simply give it as the deliberate and repeatedly expressed opinion of an intelligent deist, familiar with the progress of the West, himself no mean part of its history. Yet how widely different from the spirit of the most who have professed to write Western history! They have usually ignored the existence of Methodism; the work of its ministry and their noble spirit of sacrifice, have found no record in their volumes. Though our denominational history has all the sparkle of poetry, all the noble earnestness of chivalry, these historiographers have made a circuit of unalleviated dullness to avoid it, preferring much stupidity to a little justice.

What we do claim is, that Methodism was second to no other visible agency in advancing the civilization and education of the West. And take, first, the peculiar type of its pioneer ministry; *it was a missionary ministry, without the aid of missionary societies or missionary appropriations*. Of the latter they had small *experience*. Their ecclesiastical organization allowed them to join a circle or chain of appointments, each in a different neighborhood, blending the whole in one pastoral charge. These different societies, though spreading over an area of many miles, they regularly visited, remaining with each long enough to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom, to administer the ordinances, and exercise proper pastoral discipline. We think we are safe in saying that no other system could have given the teachings and sacraments of the New Covenant regularly to these frontier settlements. At least no other did. Most of the men denying the validity of Methodist orders, quietly waited until the "social and moral condition of the people became congenial," ere they pressed their way to the Western frontier lines.

Those early itinerants were a peculiar race of men. It is sometimes said, with a sort of faint-praise manner, "They were the men for *their times*." Well, so in truth they were. They were the heroes such times demanded; nobly did they perform the mission of their day. But they were men for *any times*! Then they spent day after day in the saddle. Did one of them reach an unbridged stream, swollen until overflowing its banks, he delayed not, but directly might have been seen in the midst of the turbid waters,

heading for the landing of the opposite shore. They could sleep in the rude cabin, or lodge in the Indian wigwam; or if these were not at hand, could bivouac beneath the branches of the beech or the maple. As one specimen, we mention, that while Bishop Ames was corresponding missionary secretary for the West and South, he passed over the whole frontier line from Lake Superior to St. Anthony's Falls, spending sixteen nights without the shelter of a roof, and during forty-eight hours partaking of no nourishment, save a little maple sugar. This pioneer band, this *legio tonans*, as it has been called, had no reserved funds upon which to lean in case of failure. Their "support" (how much irony in the term!) was often but a few dollars in the year. At this point could be arrayed an astounding chapter of facts and figures; but we are not writing a history of Western Methodism; that has never been written—when shall it be, and by whom?

Thus they reached the emigrant, and told him and his household, and the few neighbors, of the Cross of Christ, ere the roof was on the cabin, or the cat and clay chimney "was up." Remember, that society was then in its shaping state—that those men were measurably alone, and we ask, could such a band of earnest, practical men, fail to write visible lines upon that forming society? Must they not have largely aided to make it what it has become?

We are aware the answer to these questions may depend, in part at least, upon the distinctive character of their teachings, to those primitive assemblies, and the doctrines with which they built up "the Church in the wilderness." We accept the condition, and assume that their teachings were calculated to produce a noble style of manhood, and healthy organic development. Those they held in common with all Christians, need not be stated in this hasty sketch. Joined to these were some others made prominent in their prayers, sermons, and hymnology. They taught that all men were conceived and born in sin, and very far gone from original righteousness. As clearly did they teach that "Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man;" that the Son of God "died for all;" for those who sing among the six-winged cherubim, and those who "in hell lift up their eyes, being in torment." Here they taught man the dignity of manhood. Then followed the doctrine of the personal responsibility of this redeemed manhood. The will was free; choice was the heritage of every man. Those reckless men began to think, as they were told so earnestly, that they were individually responsible for their conduct; that they were the makers of changeless destiny. This doctrine became a living reality, and gave a fearful emphasis to the declaration, "So then every one of us

must give an account of himself to God." Then came the grand doctrine of spiritual regeneration; the soul was to be newly created and reëndowed. The doctrine was set forth clearly; the heart must come by faith to the Saviour, and be transformed; not have a change of purpose merely, but of character: a "new birth;" a "new creation." This was essential to eternal life; without this conversion, they insisted that the Great Master had explicitly taught, that "none can enter into the kingdom of God." And pushing still further, they insisted that this change must be a manifested fact. To him who received it, it should be a matter of personal consciousness; for God had promised the direct witness of his Spirit to its genuineness, and that the soul was insecure until this divine witness was obtained. Here, however, they guarded against enthusiasm by stating the apostolic doctrine of the "fruit of the Spirit" attesting the work of the Spirit. The reality of the change must appear, not only to its glad subject, but also to the *enemies* and the *friends* of religion. The former were incompetent to decide as to spiritual gifts, but they could decide whether "the works of the flesh" were left off. And these unbending theologians taught that as one form of sickness showed the presence of disease, so one unchecked, ungoverned "work of the flesh" revealed the control of the "carnal mind," which "is enmity against God." On the other hand, the *friends* of religion were to be convinced of the genuineness of this work by the living "fruits of the Spirit;" that the presence of all these was necessary to the demonstration and to symmetry of character.

This state of renewed character, they taught, could only be retained by ceaseless watchfulness; that "eternal vigilance" was necessary to completed salvation. That while there was but the one condition of simple faith required of the penitent seeking justification, yet another rule, another test would be applied to those seeking justification in the day of final decision; "by their works should they be justified, or by their works condemned." This point in theology was vital. The new convert was warned and urged to develop all the softening and refining graces of "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance." He was told that "being faithful," had reference to his whole internal and external life; to his social and political, as well as private duties. No wonder that the converted backwoodsman often sang as he toiled in his half-cleared field:

"How careful then ought I to live,
Who such a strict account must give
Of my behavior here."

Yet was his a cheerful religion. In flying for refuge and in laying "hold upon the hope set before him," he had been taught to expect "strong consolation." Nor had he been disappointed. His piety poured sunshine over his soul, and in his own language, "religion made him happy." His minister warned him against "sour godliness,"* and urged him to obey the exhortation, "rejoice evermore."

Here are the doctrines which they preached with fervor; not coldly read. We submit to the mental philosopher the question whether their influence was not to soften, elevate, and refine those who heard them? Could they do otherwise than inspire a love for the good, the beautiful, and the true? By their fruits let them be judged. Had they been banished, nay, had not the Methodist ministry proclaimed them, we are not sure that the declaration of the Indiana judge would not have been realized. We claim that these teachings did arrest a retrograde movement; did rouse frontier humanity to essay an *upward* movement, a progressive movement!

Let us next turn our attention to the ethical teachings of this pioneer ministry. They proclaimed a stern, unbending morality. They "waged war with vice of every sort." Not content with denouncing sin as an abstraction, they came to particulars. More than once did they cry in the hearing of some obdurate offender, "Thou art the man." When any sought admission into their societies they were plainly told, that it mattered not what were the usages of their neighborhood, they were "expected to abstain from evil of every sort, more especially that most ordinarily practiced." The sanctity of the Sabbath, reverence for the sacred name of Deity, strict justice in dealing, obedience to lawful authority, and fraternal conduct, were insisted upon as terms of membership.

One point may demand special notice. Upon what has come to be known as "*the temperance question*," Western Methodism early assumed a bold and outspoken position. Drunkenness and even the drinking of drams were forbidden; the latter only tolerated in cases of "extreme necessity." This "prohibitory law" was no dead letter, but was enforced rigorously. The making and sale of alcoholic drinks were also denounced as murderous, as in conflict with every precept of the second, and most, if not all, of the first, table of the decalogue. In this they met violent opposition, of course, from all whose craft was in danger; but not from them alone. A virulent Antinomianism had early been planted in the West, and had been fostered by Church organization, and defended by pulpit argument. It opposed "means" as derogatory to the Divine glory,

* Query. Does real godliness ever turn "sour?"

and all moral reform effort as a presumptuous intermeddling with the Divine plans.* The pulpit announced alcohol as a "good creature of God, to be received with thanksgiving!" The same Church meeting is said to have laid aside one brother for habitual drunkenness, and another for being a member of a temperance society, causing thereby a curious member to propound the question, "How much liquor he must drink to retain his standing in ——— Church, since drinking *too much* and drinking *none at all* were both capital crimes?" Methodism grappled with this deadly heresy. Shall it be said that ethics so pure and exalted, enforced with the authority of Divine revelation, announced as God's will, had no influence in determining Western morals? To say so is simply absurd. By so much, then, as the Methodist clergy infused a sound morality into the chaotic elements of the new society, did they by their teachings promote a healthy civilization, and a sound progression.

Let us next glance at the *social* influences of Western Methodism and their work in determining the character of the masses. We have alluded to the opposing elements in our early population, and the difficulty of fusing them into one. We think that the social nature of Methodism did much in promoting this work. Its Church organization is eminently social. Once a week it brought together in the class-meeting the descendants of Cavalier and Roundhead, the New-Englander and the Southerner, the "Yorker" and "Eastern shore" man, the Teuton and the Celt. The leader was one of their own number, a neighbor and friend. They met on the floor of equality, and without constraint. Freely and frankly they conversed upon the subject of religion; told of outward fightings and inward fears; of spirit conflicts severe, gloomy, terrible; of spirit-triumphs bright, glorious, transporting. They sang the same songs, bowed meekly at the same mercy-seat, called each other brother and sister, and as they did so, they felt the fraternal emotion in the very depths of the heart. With that feeling passed away national and sectional prejudices, and thus they became "many in one." Again, they were called together by the prayer-meeting and circuit preaching. As the parents became acquainted, the children passed further, intermarriages succeeded, the neighborhood was harmonized, and the organism of society completed. This, however, was the merely local society, the quarterly meeting came on. To it went, from many miles, representatives from each society.

* A prominent anti-means proclaimer, not long since, destroyed the confidence of his flock in his sincerity, by erecting some half dozen lightening rods on his premises. He saw no need of means to save the soul, but did to save his oats and buckwheat!

Two days were spent in attending upon the ministry of the word and the sacraments, the business of the charge, and mingling Christian sympathy in the love-feast. Here was a blending of different societies and an extension of social influence.

Still more extensive was the mingling when, in the golden autumnal season, families from different classes, different circuits, and different districts, came, like Israel, from afar, and dwelt in booths and tents, worshiping, after this manner, the God of their fathers. Thus did Methodism prove itself a wonderful social chemistry. It reconciled opposites and harmonized impossibles. In this crucible perished former estrangements. What were now sectional prejudices? What the accidents of birth and education? Nothing, for all were one in Christ Jesus!

There is one other aspect of this social influence. In our early history the preacher usually passed the night where he preached, or in the immediate neighborhood. Leave out the religious influences of such visits; his example as a studious man and a gentleman was before them. His intelligent conversation frequently first excited in some stalwart boy, the eager wish *to know*, which subsequently ripened into refined scholarship and polished manhood.

But there are patent facts illustrating all we have here said. It is simply stating what is well known to every intelligent Western man, that villages and neighborhoods not a few, which were in a state of almost semi-barbarism, under the Divine blessing, Methodism has elevated, refined, and placed on the upward grade. It has planted the Church, the Sabbath school, the academy. These instances are neither few nor far between. The history, therefore, which ignores its workings is simply false to the fact, and consequently unworthy of credit.

As we now come to the second topic indicated in our title, and discuss the influence of Methodism upon the education of the West, we meet this same historic injustice. What it has done, has been denied or concealed. It has been studiously represented as the enemy, or at least the neglecter of education. Its friends knew they could "bide their time." They knew that it was true of Churches as of men, "we live in *deeds*, not words." Now their works, their facts, and figures testify of them.

Taking the term education in the sense of mental *development*, Methodism did an invaluable work in creating an early love of reading, by a timely and general circulation of its books. Its ministers were colporteurs before that word was domiciled in our language. In the old-fashioned saddle-bags they carried an assortment of books, which, at the conclusion of week-day services, they ex-

hibited and sold. They also distributed them in pastoral visitations. Thus were placed in Western cabins the works of Wesley, Fletcher, Benson, Clarke, Watson, Bangs, Lee, etc.; also books of biography, of history, travel, philosophy, and ethics. Let it be borne in mind, that a taste for reading was to be *created*, or, what was scarcely less difficult, excavated from the piles of rubbish beneath which the cares of pioneer life and the lack of opportunity had buried it. The demand for books had not called out the efforts of "the trade." Books must be carried to the people and resolutely crowded upon them. And for many years, the books thus sold constituted the sole library. Even now, you may go into hundreds of houses, and in them take at random a book from the shelf, and on the fly-leaf you will read, "Bought of Rev. J. B. on the — of —, 18—. Price \$—." Another and another, still the same, only the name, date, and price varying. There is the same imprint on all. You may gather the history of the Church in part from these inscriptions. Each man sold some, and the date is scrupulously given; thus you trace the "footprints" of successive "itinerants." The price is given with the date, and thus we have the progress of our publishing department.

These books were read by the household, and then (for the Western man lends everything) loaned to the neighbors until they made the circuit of the "settlement." They went not forth in vain. In implanting a taste for reading, and giving to that taste a vigorous and manly tone, as well as in the conversion of souls, they "accomplished that whereto they were sent."

Early and successful efforts were also made for the circulation of periodical literature, which combined the æsthetical and the practical. Long before there was a single press under our control on this side of the Alleghanies, the Herald and Journal, Christian Advocate and Journal, and Methodist Magazine were among the people. But these were too remote, not sufficiently Western in news, communications, or discussions. "Home supply" became the demand, and has been followed by the establishment of the Western Christian Advocate, which was reported to the last General Conference (May, 1856) as having a subscription list of 28,718; the Northwestern Christian Advocate, 10,033; the Ladies' Repository, 29,589; Der Christeliche Apologete, 6,967. Since the date of these reports, there has been an advance in the circulation of all the above periodicals; but for convenience these numbers, then officially given, are presented. To these add the California, Central, and Pacific Christian Advocates, published at San Francisco, St. Louis, and Salem, (Oregon,) the circulation of which is not known to us. Nor

is this all. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, publish in the same field their Quarterly Review, two Advocates, a Ladies' Magazine, and Sunday-school paper. Our magazines and papers published East are widely circulated among us; among them, and in power second to none, is the beautiful Sunday School Advocate, the paper of the little folks, who are a numerous people out West. Now let the reader calculate the effect of this early and widely extended Methodist literature upon the public taste, the public mind, and the public conscience. Nay, let him suppose that all the volumes sold by Methodist itinerants, sent out in Methodist Sunday-school libraries, all the Advocates and Magazines which the denomination has scattered over the plains of the Ohio, the Missouri, the Wabash, the Platte, the Gila, the Feather River, had been withheld, then let him say what would now be the state of Western progress, Western civilization, Western education? Have those myriad pages made no impress upon the myriad minds of Western youth? Nay, verily! the influence of that literature is incalculable, and is extending. Its Briarian arms are reaching further; its Argus eyes are searching new avenues; it is *going*, GOING.

Whatever may be said of its fiscal management, of the principles which have controlled it, whether it is or is not (as is alleged) sufficiently *en rapport* with the moving energy of the times, there is history and startling significance in the inscription which meets the eye of the passer at 200 Mulberry-street, New-York, and the corner of Main and Eighth streets, Cincinnati, "The Methodist Book Concern." If it *be true*, that it has not yet been *nearly* worked up to its *maximum* power, of how much is it capable? The whole Church should reverently implore the Divine guidance upon those who direct its fiscal and editorial affairs; who control its great interests.

The erection of Methodist institutions of learning under the immediate government of the Church, early became a realized necessity, especially in what may be denominated the East Western States. Take Ohio and Indiana as illustrations. In these states, early legislation made generous provision for founding and endowing State Universities. These were to be in no sense sectarian; all should have equal rights. Into this arrangement the Methodist preachers and membership entered heartily. But the beautiful theory was found to be *only theory*. By some strange management, best known to the performers, these institutions passed into the hands of Calvinian presidents and professors. Mental and moral philosophy were so taught as to bring out the Necessitarian conclusions of Edwards and the Westminster Confession. Edwards on the Will could be found in the libraries; but neither Watson's

Institutes nor Fletcher's Checks could obtain a place; *that* would be in violation of the charter! In one of those State Universities, the president taught in the recitation room the doctrine "that the total apostasy of believers is impossible, not in the nature of things, but by the Divine constitution, and, consequently, that no man, who has been once received into the Divine favor, can be ultimately deprived of salvation." In vain did students modestly protest; there was a literary autocracy which was absolute. Nor did this end the chapter. In some of these state colleges, Methodist students were under bonds; scarcely allowed the rights of conscience. We here speak plainly, because we believe these facts should, in some manner, go upon the record. The true position of Methodism toward Western State institutions should be known.

Added to this injustice, was denominational indignity. The impression was studiously made, and, in more than one instance, openly avowed, that none but Calvinistic gentlemen were competent to fill professorial chairs; that Methodists were an inferior caste, and incompetent for university positions. The ignorance of its ministry formed a standing theme of animadversion and ridicule. "They were, *perhaps*, good men, but then they did not understand Greek; honest, but they had never digged among Hebrew roots; hence, they were surely incompetent as teachers. They might possibly do some good as frontier rangers; but when the refined era of towns, cities, and colleges came in, they should at once retire before an 'efficient ministry.'"

Let it be remembered that in these states Methodism was no feeble minority, pleading for an existence; but was numerically the first, and in point of wealth and refinement, was second to no denomination in the Mississippi Valley. Hence in being taxed to sustain these *de facto* denominational colleges, where tenets were taught which it considered as subversive of truth, there was the spectacle of the majority controlled by the minority, and a virtual adoption of compulsory tithes for the support of obnoxious errors.

Yet this did not at once drive us into denominational colleges, etc. Our people were loyal, and desired to aid in developing the prosperity and influence of the state. The spirit prompting them will be seen in the following extracts from a memorial addressed by the Indiana Annual Conference, in A. D. 1834, to the General Assembly of the State. After the usual caption they say:

"Your memorialists represent to your honorable body, that they, in common with their fellow-citizens, recognize in the munificent grant of lands by the General Government to our State, to endow a state institution of learning, a corresponding obligation so to manage it, as not to defeat the charitable bequests of our common country. We feel that cause of complaint exists in re-

gard to this matter, yet we do not approach your honorable body, as irritated and injured individuals, asking the redress of private wrongs; but as the patrons and advocates of general science, pleading her cause, and imploring you in your paternal character to open her prison doors. We would impress it upon your honorable body, that literature belongs to no one religious denomination, and no one, exclusively, should be allowed to possess the keys that unlock her treasures. * * * * *

"We feel a deep and abiding interest in the success of the institution. We recognize in the provisions of its Constitution, and particularly the tenth section, the generous and confiding spirit in which its functions and powers were bestowed, as it were, in the absence of every uncharitable suspicion, that the hydra of sectarianism might erect its standard there. Yet we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the State, have to regret that our hopes in it have been disappointed. We look into the charter, and read that the places of presidents, professors, and teachers are open, soliciting capacity to occupy them, without regard to religious profession or doctrines. We then turn our eye to the faculty, from the organization of the institution until this hour, and we see that one common hue, one common religious creed characterizes every member, as if capacity and fitness were confined to one Church, and one set of religious opinions. We have heretofore borne this without complaint, and would now be silent, had we no higher object than to contend for the places and honors of the institution. But when we see the youth of our own, and other Churches, voluntarily renouncing and abandoning the institution because the religion of their fathers is but *tolerated*, not domiciled there, we feel impelled by every consideration that looks to the future, to speak out, and reclaim to the State, the power bestowed on the trustees of filling their own vacancies, and give to them a fixed and definite term of service in the future. This wholesome restraint would, it is believed, bring to the service of the institution a due proportion from other religious denominations, and breathe into it a new spirit, full of life and vigor. Your memorialists, therefore, earnestly solicit your interference in this matter," etc.

We have quoted this memorial because it is at hand, and because it shows the evil for which the remedy was sought. It is the old story. State munificence falls into the hands of a self-perpetuating oligarchy, titled trustees, sometimes regents, sometimes curators, no difference as to name. They hold the power, and are not responsible to the people. They administer the funds so as to advance, not the designs of the donors, but the interests of those who "frame to pronounce aright" some ecclesiastical *Shibboleth*. The Indiana Conference had previously adopted a strong report, contemplating the building and endowment of a denominational university; but had suspended final action until one more effort should be made to secure a fair representation in the State University of Bloomington, of the largest membership in the commonwealth. To effect this, all they asked was that the managers of that institution should be elected as were other state officers, for a limited period, and should be chosen by the Legislature. This granted, the Conference was content. But all in vain. This and similar memorials were decently "referred" and smothered in committee. This was far easier than to assign a respectable pretext for refusing so manly and just a request.

Methodism must be kept from halls of learning, or, if admitted *at all*, it must come in, not as a teacher, but as a snubbed and inferior learner. The next Conference applied to the General Assembly for a charter for the "Indiana Asbury University," which, after some ill-natured flings by the friends of the Genevan *regime*, was granted.

Such, in the main outlines, would be the history of Ohio and some other Western states; there would be seen the same monopoly of state colleges, the same struggle for equal rights and privileges, followed by the withdrawal of Methodist patronage and the opening of Methodist schools. We are reminded of the words of Joseph to his brethren: "Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass this day, to save much people alive." As driving Wesley from Churches brought in field preaching, so driving us from state halls, hastened, if it did not cause, our denominational literary enterprises. We have no desire to indulge in unseemly exultations, yet we cannot refrain from saying that in what has followed, there is an apparent retribution. Some of those very same state institutions from which Methodism was driven out to be a fugitive, have, in their extremity, come bending unto us, saying "*We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach.*" The men who sneered at our scholarship have come before our conferences in person, or by representatives, and said: "See the vacant halls, the unread libraries, the deserted dormitories of the State University. It has ample endowment, we ask not a dollar of your means, only give us men from your body to fill our chairs, or the university must be closed."

That the union of Methodism with state institutions will really benefit the Church is very doubtful. But it shows the "Influence of Methodism upon the Education of the West;" shows how strong its hold, as an *educating Church*, must be upon the public mind, when *its name alone* can exert greater power than the patronage of the state. If this dalliance with state colleges shall not cause us to neglect our own, to which our faith is plighted, then no evil need follow. But if such results shall follow, as some of our wisest men anticipate, then will we regret that, having once been deemed unworthy of a place in state institutions, we have not turned solely to our own.

Before closing this paper we wish to glance at what Methodism has done, and is doing, through our own institutions in the broad valley of the Mississippi. First as to Universities. There are the following in successful operation at this time, in any of which the student may complete the college curriculum: Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, Ohio; Indiana Asbury University, Greencastle, Indiana; M'Kendree College, Lebanon, Illinois; the North-

Western University, at Evanston, Illinois; Iowa Wesleyan University, at Mount Pleasant, Iowa; Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin; Hamline University, Redwing, Minnesota. Most, if not all, of these have living endowments, either of lands or vested funds. Away, away upon the Pacific, we hear of a University at Santa Clara. Some may prove to have been unwisely located; but evidently a bright future is before the most of them. Already, also, are steps being taken to establish and endow first class institutions in Oregon, in Kansas, in Nebraska, and soon will be in Washington Territory and New-Mexico. They will keep pace with advancing population.

We have, secondly, the Garrett Biblical Institute, located at Evanston, near Chicago, Illinois. This young institution, with its learned and accomplished faculty, has a good endowment, given by the liberal "elect lady" whose name it bears. Thus she "being dead, yet speaketh."

Thirdly, Methodism has planted more than thirty seminaries in the West. The number in attendance upon these varies from forty to two hundred, and upward. Their course of study is varied; being in some but little short of the university standard, while in others only designed to fit young men to enter as sophomores or juniors.

There has also been much attention given to female education in the West by our Church. We believe the first chartered female college in America or Europe, was the Wesleyan Female College in Cincinnati, Ohio; and right queenly does it yet wear its diadem. Most of our seminaries have the power of conferring degrees upon females; hence so many of them stand in the catalogue as colleges. Simple justice here demands that we state the above is exclusive of the efforts of the Church, South, in the great valley. We have not a list of its institutions at hand, nor would the limits of this article allow a sketch of their progress; but that branch of Methodism has not been idle. She is doing much in the Southwest, and with a vigorous liberality, is planning to do a little more.

Can the reader now estimate the power these institutions have exerted upon society? their influence upon Western education? To aid his efforts, let him take an additional fact: Most Western institutions have been endowed by the sale of cheap scholarships. These have opened their doors for the sons of *poor* men, for those of limited means. Such know the value of time and money; they will not waste the one nor squander the other. They come from the country with sound minds and sound bodies, not vitiated and spoiled by "softness and needless self-indulgence." Such will be manly men, and such are many of the alumni of Western colleges.

But their influence must not be measured by alumni alone. Many necessarily enter as irregulars. They have in view some special vocation; all their energies are devoted to a preparation for that, and for that *alone*.

Such are the youth who have come forth from Western halls, and are now at the bar, in the pulpit, in the medical profession, and in legislative assemblies. These, in their spheres, are *all* popular educators. We also see this "influence upon education" by looking steadily to the number who have gone out as teachers of all grades, from college presidents and professors, down (or shall we say *up*?) to the teacher in the common school. They are educating the million!

At this point we see the telling importance of our female colleges. Woman is the natural educator of childhood. And from these colleges has come forth a race of experienced teachers. They are spreading everywhere; in city, village, hamlet, and country. Their hand is upon the heart of childhood, and that hand, Methodism has trained. Nor can we forget that the "hands which rock the cradle, rock the world." The teachings of Methodism are giving the world a race of educated mothers. And thus is it setting its impress upon the babe in the cradle, the child in the common school, and the young man and woman of the college and university.

With this aggregation of power, shall we wonder that Western Methodism is represented in every department; on 'change, at the forum, on the tripod, in the senate, in the house, and upon the seat of judicial and executive power?

It is time that men who profess to write history should begin to realize that we are alive, that Methodism *has done* something in this new world, and while it has been all too little, yet it need not altogether be ashamed. In this field have we been the advance guard; so must historic justice pronounce.

ART. VIII.—SCHAFF ON AMERICA.

LETTER FROM B. H. NADAL.

MR. EDITOR:—Dr. M'Clintock's letter in the last number of the Quarterly, on my Review of Dr. Schaff's Book, seems to me to require a brief reply. My deference for Dr. M'Clintock has grown into a habit, a habit so strong as to make it painful for me to express, much more to print, an opinion in opposition to anything he has written. But in this case I dare not remain silent,

believing, as I do, that the letter of my honored friend is likely to produce an erroneous impression, and to place Dr. Schaff, in the opinion of some, among the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a position, I am sure, he would never select for himself.

Dr. M'Clintock understands me to impute to Dr. Schaff an "evil animus." If by this phrase, *intentional wrong* be meant, my friend misunderstands me, nor will the article in question bear him out. But if by "*evil animus*" it is only intended to express a *design to injure Methodism*, we at once plead guilty. For though Dr. Schaff's *animus* may not have been evil *per se*, both his book and his former course prove it to have been so toward Methodism. He is our enemy, though his hostility may be honest. A strong, conscientious foe, full of zeal against us, a *pelagianizing, proselytizing, fanatical, egotistical* sect, is more to be dreaded than a dozen rogues. From what we have now said it follows also that we have not charged the author reviewed (Dr. Schaff) with an *intentional* caricature of Methodism, but simply with a *caricature*, whatever may have been his intention.

As to my intimation that Dr. Schaff "intended by his lectures to hedge up the way of our missionaries in Germany, and secure their return without fruit," it appears to me impossible to gainsay it without attributing to the learned writer a recklessness even less defensible, than the honest design to put down the missionaries as interlopers and sectaries, meddlesome and dangerous to the state. Will a lecturer, discoursing before the dignitaries of the greatest of the German States, on the American Churches, tell his audience, perhaps already prejudiced against the Methodists, that "the zeal of the Methodist ministers is very much clouded by impure motives of proselytism, and indulges itself in the most shameless inroads upon the material of other Churches;" that "they formerly condemned learning and theology from principle and as dangerous to practical piety;" that "it is characteristic of them, that as soon as they get a little learning they are more puffed up than others, and even in the pulpit make a vain display of it;" that "they often in a shocking manner neglect the entire religious training of their children, in the vain, God-tempting expectation that the nervous agitation of an awakening sermon at a camp-meeting, or a few hours at the mourner's bench, will supply the place of the toilsome process of parental discipline," etc., etc., and that "therefore it is no wonder that the young generation, under such influences, grows up so destitute of good manners and good morals;" that the German Methodists, connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, together with other German sects, "are a reproach and humiliation to the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches;" will he tell his audience all this? will he tell the King of Prussia,* who, as well as his ministers, and the élite of Berlin generally, perhaps heard the lecture, that the Methodists, the people who have been made to minister at once to the amusement and disgust of the evening, have shown their "overestimate of their mission in recently sending several missionaries to Germany, in order to draw it out of the slough of real or supposed heathenism, and to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion;" "that these

* The author tells us that the king and other members of the royal family sometimes honored these lectures with their presence.

missionaries have come as if to a heathen land?" Will he say all this, and more of the same sort? will he conclude with an application so direct, so suggestive of opposition and even persecution, and yet wish the missionaries success, wish them fruit? I cannot believe it. My respect for Dr. Schaff's intellect forbids. We are far from saying he was not honest; he perhaps thought he was doing God service, but certainly he was trying to put himself in the way—his whole spirit and temper put him directly in the way—of the missionaries, whose sect he considers "a reproach and humiliation" to the German Churches. Dr. Schaff's "animus," whatever it may be in itself, is clearly evil toward Methodism.

Dr. Schaff, in his address to the American reader, prefixed to the English Translation of the book in question, speaks of the volume as a "faithful translation." Let the reader determine how this statement accords with such facts as the following: In the original, speaking of the Romish Church, he declares he entertains for it "a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically religious respect." In the translation this does not appear. In the German we have the passage quoted above, about Methodist ministers being puffed up when they get a little learning, etc. In the translation this is omitted.

Did the author permit or direct these and other passages to be left out, because, although they correctly represented his opinions, he knew they would give offense? then why did he call the translation faithful?

INDIANA ASBURY UNIVERSITY, Feb. 19, 1857.

B. H. NADAL.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, February, 1857.—1. The President's Message: 2. India, Ancient and Modern: 3. The Kantian Philosophy: 4. Slavery and the Bible; Slavery and the Church; Slavery and Infidelity; Thompson; Barnes; Patton: 5. The Sphere of the Pulpit: 6. Notices of Books.

THE third article aims to give a view of Kant's Philosophy, (of which it considers Professor Hickok's work a reproduction, with some intended improvements,) in the dress of our ordinary English metaphysical language.

The fourth article argues, first, that American slavery has no support from Scripture, and, second, that the argument for slavery founded on Scripture does more for infidelity than it does for the peculiar institution. Its effect is to sink the Bible more than it can prop up slavery. The politic slaveholder accepts the argument as an expedient, but seldom is he deeply convinced that the book that sanctifies what the fundamental dictates of his own nature pronounces a crime, is a sacred authority; while he despises the suppleness of the clerical conscience-keeper, who twists his limber divinity to the purpose of suiting the demand of his lordly customer.

II. THE MERCERSBURG QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. The Evangelical Church Diet of Germany: 2. The Anatomy of Sentimentalism: 3. Hodge on the Ephesians: 4. The Church System and the Heidelberg Catechism: 5. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: 6. The State Church System in Europe: 7. Short Notices.

THIS Quarterly is edited by Rev. Mr. Gerhart and Dr. Schaff, for the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College. It has arrived at its ninth volume. It is published at Chambersburgh and Philadelphia. Its position is thus defined by its editors:

"In opposition to every species of Rationalism and Infidelity, it is *Christian*; in holding the sublime fundamental truths which are common to the Church under all its forms, it is *Catholic*; in opposition to all the corruptions of Rome, it is *Evangelical* and *Protestant*; and as an exponent of Anglo-German Theology, and embodying the genius and spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism, it is *Reformed*."

III. THE FREE-WILL BAPTIST, January.—1. The late Political Contest and its Lessons: 2. Progress in Doctrinal Theology and Biblical Interpretation: 3. Idea or Doctrine of Atonement: 4. The late General Conference: 5. Kane's Arctic Explorations: 6. The Law of Retribution: 7. Biographical Sketch of Rev. John Frederic Farrens: 8. The Relation of Business to Christian Character and Culture: 9. Contemporary Literature.

WE have a liking for this nice little organ of a denominational organization not large, but catholic, evangelical, and, we believe, growing. The misfortune of the denomination is, that it has a single article, and that a mere ceremonial one, for its distinctive base and its only apology for its special existence as a denomination. It stands, like a spinning-top, upon a single point, and no whipping-up can revolve it into a very powerful Protestant extension. Not long since, this Quarterly contained a very able article on the causes of the great difference between the growth of the Free-will Baptist and the Methodist denominations. It was well worthy republication at our Book Rooms, as being equally instructive to both sides of the comparison. The Methodist success was plausibly attributed to some causes which our self-styled *progressives* are disposed to "*reform*" out of existence. At the same time, some wholesome inferences are afforded to our "*conservatives*." In fine, this Quarterly has a very practical character, and, without affecting to scale the heights of scholarship, it seems to attain a striking *adaptation* to its purposes.

IV. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January.—1. The Children of the Church and Sealing Ordinances: 2. Tischendorf's Travels in the East: 3. Grote's History of Greece: 4. Neglect of Infant Baptism: 5. Free Agency: 6. Annals of the American Pulpit: 7. Spiegel's Pehlevi Grammar.

THE able organ of the Princeton Old School Theology, of which Dr. Hodge is editor. Many of its essays have been already published in independent volumes, and are esteemed in England and America as able and standard expositions of the doctrines of its school.

V. THE CHURCH REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. Dissensions in the Apostolic Age and their Final Adjustment—No. 1: 2. The Rev. James Murdock, D.D.: 3. The Liturgical Movement: 4. The Unity of Mankind: 5. Rev. Dr. Turner's Letter on the American Bible Society: 6. The Late General Convention: 7. Free Seats.

AN able and scholarly Episcopalian Review, published at New-Haven. The second article is an interesting biographical notice of one of the profoundest religious and ecclesiastical scholars of our country. He graduated at Yale in 1797, under Dr. Dwight, and afterward studied theology under the same able divine. He was successively Professor of Languages in the University of Vermont, Professor of Languages at Dartmouth, and Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Ecclesiastical History at Andover. He finally removed to New-Haven, where he prosecuted the study of Ecclesiastical History and Oriental Literature. He did the literary world great service by his genuine edition of Mosheim's Church History. He published, likewise, to great acceptance, Mosheim's "Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before Constantine." He published, also, a translation of the Peshito-Syriac New Testament. His miscellaneous productions were numerous and able.

Dr. Murdock was not a second-hand scholar. It was his temper to make fundamental researches, and to press his investigations into original sources. He prosecuted his studies with a youthful zest beyond his fourscore years, and completed his earthly task in August, 1856. In the early establishment of the Church Review, Dr. Murdock lent his efficient aid, and the memoir in this number is a grateful and graceful tribute to his memory. On both sides it is a pleasing specimen of Christian liberality crossing denominational lines.

VI. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.—1. The Future State: 2. Future State of the Heathen: 3. The Providence of God in Books: 4. Cockburn's Memorials of his Time: 5. Notices of Scripture Translation in the Chinese Language: 6. Alison's History of Europe: 7. Notices of New Publications: 8. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

VII. THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL.—1. The Perpetuity of the Human Race: 2. The Whitbyan Hypothesis respecting Christ's Second Coming—a Novelty: 3. The Mystery Revealed to Paul: 4. The Chronology of the Old Testament: 5. The Bearing of the Geological Theory of the Age of the World on the Inspiration of the Bible: 6. Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation: 7. Notes on Scripture: 8. The Parables of the New Testament: 9. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John: 10. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chapter xxxv: 11. Literary and Critical Notices.

II.—Foreign Reviews.

I. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. Sir Edward Coke's great oyer of poisoning: 2. The Smoke Nuisance—its Cause and Cure: 3. Cornelius Agrippa: 4. Coal-Mines and their Accidents: 5. The Mosaic Dispensation and Christianity: 6. Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich: 7. The Bourse of Paris in 1790, 1800, and 1856: 8. American Democracy and the Slave Power: 9. The Doctrine of Inspiration: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

LIKE the rest of the world, we are unconquerably impressed by externals; and hence, we suspect, are hardly able to do justice to the BRITISH. The brilliancy of a homespun's wit borrows a blur from the rustiness of his coat. Would the BRITISH but don a brighter garb upon his back, and display a whiter sheen under his cloth, we are not sure but a deeper wisdom would seem to impregnate his philosophy, and a livelier rhetoric sparkle in his periods.

Cornelius Agrippa, the subject of the third article, is one of those semi-mythical characters, of whom everybody is traditionally accustomed to say what nobody believes. He was, forsooth, a *magician*; and the prodigies of that art have been attributed to him in that sort of settled way, that one knows not precisely how much to disbelieve. A biography of him by Mr. Morley, however, has now taken him from myth and inserted him in history. He never performed those attributed impossibilities, which one has had a great mind to believe, nor perpetrated those detestabilities at which we have a delight in shuddering. He never did wrap you in a mystical vapor made of spermaceti and aloes, and call up from the dead any departed shade you pleased to name. He never did fetch down a thunder-storm by burning a chameleon's liver on a house-top. He never did evoke hellish demons from the pit by spells written in books whose leaves are skins of murdered men. These delightful horrors of the twilight ages are all ruthlessly dispersed by the broad glare of historical day. Agrippa was not a *magician*, nor even a *charlatan*, but, after the best wisdom and science of his age, a *philosopher*. He was really a noble German, born three years later than Luther, at Nettelsheim, and early distinguished himself as a writer and courtier. He wrote in his gallant youth, a treatise to prove the superiority in wisdom, as well as in beauty, of the female sex. He subsequently wrote a treatise on Occult Philosophy, in which the mysterious sympathy between the stars, and metals, and plants, and animals, were expounded, theosophically, on the theory of a *Soul of the World*. It treated also of *magic*, and the occult power of numbers, and the mysterious virtue of mathematical figures. Ascending a higher sphere of mysticism, from theosophy into theurgy, he explained how "the purified soul," through divine virtues, may acquire miraculous powers. It may get command of *words* of sacred power, by which diseases may be banished and harms prevented. He explained what guardian geniuses attend a man, and how the stars rule his destiny. He showed how by astrology the planets may be spelled, and how by necromancy the dead may be evoked. All this might seem to prove Agrippa a charlatan. Not at all. He only condensed in these branches what the sages of the age propounded, and clergy and court believed. At a later date he renounced the dreams of his younger years, and published a work on the Vanity of the Sciences. For a brief time Agrippa was high in favor at the court of the Emperor Charles V., as a philosopher and statesman. But the independence of his character and the freedom of his publications made him enemies. Pursued and stricken by powerful and relentless enemies, he retired to Grenoble, and expired at the age of forty-nine. The popular impression of his wisdom, magnified by sacred credulity, imaginatively conferred upon him supernatural powers, and rendered him finally a favorite hero, upon whom to gather the myths of superstition.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE is a great favorite with many of the lovers of elder English literature. His works blend the philosophy and the imagination of a profound thinker and a poet. His style, too, unites the sonorous dignity of the Latin with the homelier flexibility of our Saxon. Dr. Samuel Johnson acknowledged Browne as his master and model in English style.

Browne lived in the times of the great English Revolution; but like a shell-

fish, fastened to his rock in the midst of storms, he adhered to his peaceful retreat amid the surroundings of philosophic study, through all the convulsions of the state. He flung out his publications, at the same time practicing his profession, until the voice of public approbation gradually surrounded him with fame. His works stand upon the shelf of all amateurs in fine old English literature, in three stately octavos, edited by Wilkins. His character and works form a subject for a pleasant literary picture, which we hope some of our contributors will conclude to draw.

II. THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. Revelations of the Microscope: 2. Hours with the Mystics: 3. Modern School Books: 4. Vagabond Life in Mexico: 5. City and Town Missions: 6. Emerson's English Traits: 7. French on New Testament Synonyms: 8. American Agriculture: 9. The Pulpit—Butler's Sermons: 10. Gothic Art—John Ruskin: 11. Human Longevity: 12. Our Youth—their Culture and Education.

THIS number of the London well sustains the high reputation of its predecessors, presenting, as it does, a train of rich topics well developed.

The second article, upon the subject of Mysticism, contains the following brief analysis of that peculiar mode of thinking. The book it reviews "opens with an introduction, which gives us definitions, causes, and a classification of Mysticism into theopathic, theosophic, and theurgic, the first of the three being subdivided into transitive and intransitive. Theopathic Mysticism is that phase of error in which the Mystic resigns himself more or less completely to an imaginary Divine influence, which impels him, as he supposes, to action, if it is transitive, or lulls him, if it is intransitive, in contemplative repose. The theosophist is the Mystic who theorizes about Deity, or the works of Deity, and believes himself to be in possession of a supernatural faculty for this end. Theurgic Mysticism clutches at the marvelous, and works wonders by the aid of angel, saint, or talisman. Thus, we may say, that the badge of theopathic Mysticism is feeling; of theosophic, knowing; and of theurgic, doing."

We may add, that the first of these three stages may be based upon correct doctrinal truth, and becomes just what is, in our ordinary religious language, expressed by the phrase, communion with God. It is, then, a state of soul correspondent with what Richard Watson prescribes, in language quoted by the reviewer: "Rest not a moment without the felt presence of your God." So far, every devout Christian is a Mystic; or, rather, so far Mysticism is not specifically and exclusively itself. Even so materialistic a philosopher as David Hartley could recognize and define this state of mind, or rather of soul, appropriate the term *theopathy*, and affirm that *theopathy* is a right and beneficial mental condition. But parallel, true or false, to this Christian theopathy, based upon and regulated by Divine truth, are found, apparently in other systems of belief, theopathic phenomena associated with surrounding errors, and unprotected from the greatest practical dangers. Such a theopathic element frequently unnerves all the positive faculties of the soul and reduces the substantial manhood to a state of solution. It annihilates the world of surrounding realities, and creates a world of fixed and painted vapors. And then, when it attempts to rise into *theosophy* and propound *doctrines*, and Divine and cosmologic *constitutions*, what opium dreams does it conjure up! Thence, coming

out into action, we have all the mad mal-practices of theurgy. Witchcraft, sorcery, demon wonders, animal magnetism, and the devil doubtless knows what, follow in black train. The soul that aspired to go *upward* vibrates and quivers at the turning point, and too often, alas! takes the everlasting *downward*. These phenomena fill the psychical history of the Middle Ages. They are, at the present hour, transpiring in legionary numbers around us. Were it not for the scientific, and, more than that, the mechanical and practically active characteristics of the age, which draw out the faculties of men into healthful action upon objective solids, the equilibrium would much more extensively be lost, and a modern monasticism would rival the monkeries of the mystic deserts of Egypt. And more than these counteractives is the healthful spirit of the unclosed New Testament, with its cheery promptings to Christian action, guided by Christian truth and animated with Christian benevolence. The great outward organic benevolences of the day are much to be thanked for their reflex benefits upon our religion in preventing it from concentrating into too intense a subjectivism. We have sometimes suspected that, between these centrifugal and centripetal forces, Fletcher slightly lost his equilibrium; and that no man in modern times possessed both in more extraordinary power, or more complete balance, than John Wesley.

Dr. Thomson's Educational Essays stand at the head of the twelfth article; but the book forms the mere superscription, rather than subject, of the article. Yet the reviewer evidently highly appreciates the essays.

III. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE.—1. Bothwell: 2. A History of the Romans under the Empire: 3. The Police of England: 4. Natural Theology: 5. The New Testament, with Notes: 6. Religious Fiction: 7. Life and Writings of James Montgomery: 8. National Education: 9. Prospects of the Oriental Church: 10. Chaplains and Religion in the Royal Army.

IV. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW.—1. Liturgical Revision: 2. The Ottoman Empire: 3. Arthur and the Sangreal: 4. The Use and Abuse of Religious Words: 5. The Doctrine of the Real Presence: 6. Typology: 7. Archæology: 8. Abelard—his Life and Philosophy.

V. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. William Wordsworth: 2. The Relations of Art to Religion: 3. Balzac en Pantoufles: 4. Mr. Spurgeon and his Popularity: 5. Latham and Grimm on the Ethnology of Germany: 6. The Literature of Spirit-Rapping: 7. The Crédit Mobilier and Banking Companies of France: 8. Strauss and German Hellenism: 9. The Slave Empire of the West.

VI. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. Ranalli's Italian History: 2. Itinerating Libraries and their Founder: 3. Sidney Smith as a Minister of Religion: 4. The Church—its Perpetuity: 5. The Matter of Preaching: 6. Eli Smith's Arabic Bible: 7. Dove's Logic of the Christian Faith: 8. Theodore Agrippa: 9. M'Donald's Creation and the Fall.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, are taken from the Princeton Review. The others are original. The seventh article attributes a high character to Mr. Dove's work.

VII. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, January, 1857.—1. Revisions of Translations of the Holy Scriptures: 2. The Lord's Day: 3. On the Word Hellenists, with especial Reference to Acts xi, 20: 4. The

Will Divine and Human: 5. St. Paul in Crete: 6. The Law of Burial and the Sentiment of Death: 7. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John: 8. Dr. A. R. Lipsius on the Ignatian Epistles: 9. The Septuagint Version, Part II: 10. Observations on Matthew xxiv, 25. Its analysis and Interpretations. Minute Details of St. Mark's Gospel. Proverbs iv, 7. Correspondence.

VIII. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, February, 1857.—1. Employment of Women: 2. Modern Style: 3. Dr. Samuel Browne: 4. Kane's Arctic Explorations: 5. Mrs. Browning's Poems: 6. Richard Hooker: 7. Art Union: 8. The Trade in Opium: 9. United States Politics—Foreign and Domestic.

IX. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1857.—1. Philip II. and his Times: 2. Human Longevity: 3. Convocation: 4. Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture: 5. Macaulay's History of England: 6. Rights and Liabilities of Husband and Wife: 7. French Society under the Directory: 8. Scottish Lawyers and English Critics: 9. Parliamentary Committees and Railway Legislation: 10. India, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Foreign Views of American Affairs.

THE article that now sets heaviest upon the stomach of Europe, judging from the tone of the English Reviews, is America. Not merely from the stupendous increase of our national power and extension, but from the momentous questions of Liberty and Despotism, which the European friends of freedom conceive to be here at stake; the arrival of American news has never been waited for with so breathless an interest. From among the articles on this subject we select three.

The British Quarterly writes in a tone of decided nationality. It draws a *dark*, perhaps a *true* picture; but it seems to find a gratification in the very darkness of our hue, from the relief and even luster it reflects upon the monarchy of England.

It opens with expatiation upon the fatal defect in our Constitution, by which a possible re-election renders our president more a personal and partisan intriguer, than a national chief magistrate. To this are traced the errors, the violated pledges, and the complicity with conspiracies, fraud, and bloodshed which it affirms have made the name of Mr. Pierce a term of scorn with two thirds of the people of the United States. In return for all this truckling, the slave power, nevertheless, sacrificed him personally at the Cincinnati Convention, to the condemnation of the respectable business men of the North; but to replace him with a candidate equally pledged to carry out the despotic policy of the South.

The imbecility of our moneyed aristocracy receives the next castigation. The landed gentry existing before the Revolution having entirely disappeared, our present upper crust is a coarse-grained, cowardly article, with immensely more money than manhood. It is driven or bribed out of its political independence. It publicly affects democracy; but, like the Jew of the Middle Ages, it compensates itself for its open degradation by a style of princely splendor in the parlor at home, and a secret hatred of the dominant mobocracy at heart. Thus, schooled in cowardice, it is prepared to be the vassal and tool of the slave power. The Southern oligarchy is playing with this servile and

salable class, a twofold game—*cajolery* and *intimidation*. It cajoles by suspending trade and legislation upon concession of Southern demands. A tariff favorable to the North, for instance, was once offered by Secretary Walker, as the compensation for submission to the annexation policy. The North yielded; Texas was annexed; and by retributive justice, the two senatorial votes of Texas repealed that very tariff. Yet the thoughtless class of merchantable mercantiles are still being cajoled into the gradual surrender of the entire power of the national legislation into the hands of a dark oligarchy, that desires nothing so much as to legislate Northern prosperity southward. Intimidation in the form of personal bullying, like that of Preston S. Brooks, but more extensively in the form of threats of disunion, one would suppose might give some warning to the Northern mercantiles, of the despotism they are preparing for themselves; but even down to the last contest the stale cry of disunion, perhaps, turned the scale of victory.

The reviewer seems vexed with the friends of freedom for being beaten. He saw, in the late contest, the best men of New-England bravely taking the right; the Germans apparently forsaking a nominal Democracy for a genuine advocacy of freedom; the ministers of religion and the thoughtful classes in a solid body, unanimous for the righteous cause; the four most powerful newspapers in America strangely combined in its behalf, and then he beheld the glorious cause itself—FREEDOM! and defeat appeared an impossibility. And when, on the other side, he contemplated Kansas enslaved, Nebraska and Utah dragooned, Mexico and Central America filibustered, and Cuba annexed; how could a free nation hesitate or waver at such an issue? If with such advantages, freedom fails, what hope of future success? And of such a defeat what can be the plausible solution?

1. A system of despotic corruptionism on the part of partisan and especially governmental leaders, more stupendous and more unscrupulous than innocent England ever dreamed. In the early age of the Republic office-holders were forbidden to take part in politics. With the reign of Jackson commenced the reign of corruption. Official patronage became the instrument of reward and punishment, and the vast mass of official subordinates were transformed into a venal standing army disciplined for the support of the party in power. Its perfection of power was attained under Jackson; its perfection of shamelessness under Pierce. From the party head-quarters at Washington a manifesto was sent forth previous to the last election, to every postmaster throughout the nation, announcing that "every postmaster who wishes for a continuance of his official position will find it is his interest to use every effort to produce so desirable a result" as a successful electioneering campaign. "Postmasters," the official document candidly and logically adds, "being the recipients of the patronage of the administration, it is but *just* that they should comply with its demands!" What righteous venality! What cool assumption that postmaster-ships are a wages which imposed an honest obligation to pay the administration by partisan self-prostitution! Under such a system of barefaced official corruption, what chance has the moral sense of the people?

2. The depravity of the lower masses of voters under the universal suffrage system. The fact that the great body of the ablest newspapers were for the

freedom candidate is of little consequence, while vast masses of the voting dregs are too low to be touched by the revolutions of the power-press. From this fact the reviewer draws a mighty argument against universal suffrage. The "dangerous classes," "the shoals of emigrants," "the sporting characters," "the aristocracy of roguery," "the gangs of professed pugilists," the "brothel bullies," in short, the vast mass of our whisky-steeped mobbery are voters, and unregistered voters. The instinctive bias of this whole class is for the slavery-supporting Democracy. "In analyzing the votes of the different wards into which the City of New-York is divided, the striking difference between the class who voted for Buchanan and those who supported Fremont is very remarkable. Take the Five Points, for example, of which everybody has heard. In that sink of iniquity 911 polled for Buchanan and only 31 for Fremont, and even these few Fremont votes are said to have been nearly all from the two reformatory institutions in that locality. In the Second District, First Ward, 'where Tom Burns's crib is situated, and at which den the polls were held,' the vote was 532 Buchanan, 28 Fremont. The same proportions run throughout the whole of the St. Giles's of New-York. In the Fourth Ward, which is described as 'almost from end to end one sty of vice,' Buchanan polled 2,081, Fremont 286; while the 'Bloody Sixth'—as one ward is called—gave 2,355 for Buchanan and 294 for Fremont."

3. The deterioration and debasement of statesmen. This appears in the presidential occupants of the chair of Washington and the Adamses. The Republican leaders are men of fine moral caliber, noble orators, and men of brilliant talents, like the Girondins, but unable to cope with the unscrupulous strategy of their opponents. The paltry and purchasable character of the Northern politicians, who servilely combat for the privilege of putting their necks under the heel of the Southern oligarchy, is a curious phenomenon of pusillanimity. Under their management, using the depravity of the baser masses, the moral and reflective feeling of the North is overborne and overwhelmed. An alliance is thus formed between the Southern oligarchy and the Northern subterraneanism, through these low demagogues, by which the former maintains a terrible supremacy over the nation. "The slaveholding interest of the South, 'an aristocratic body of a hundred thousand voters, governs the United States of America, just as much as any other aristocratic body—Conscript Fathers, States-General, Council of Ten, or Polish Diet—has borne rule anywhere else.'"

As to the future, the auguries of the *BRITISH* have a slightly bitter tinge: Mr. Buchanan desires a re-election; he has not the slightest moral scruple in the way of a selfish purpose; the rampant energy of the oligarchy will carry him in their own direction; and he will stupidly follow in the tracks of his predecessor even at the risk of meeting his predecessor's fate. Space does not permit, if the occasion did, our making reply to the *BRITISH*, or expressing how far we coincide in its views.

The *NATIONAL* takes views of both higher elevation and greater moral breadth. There seems not the slightest tinge of illiberality, not the slightest Pharisaic wish to brighten themselves by black-balling us. The tone is pro-American; and its evil auguries and despondencies are the unwilling confes-

sions that the predominance of the slave power is a fearful falter of our great experiment of freedom; and that our failure would be an obscuration of the best hopes of liberty and progress for our race. Mistaken, or not, be its views, its voice is the utterance of a sympathizing friend.

The NATIONAL, after giving a description of the high and generous interest felt by the liberalists of England in our contest, adds: "Nor had our own *British* affairs anything to do with this excitement. It was a genuine self-identification with a struggle every way great—great in its principle, great in its scale, great in its consequences; and everything was forgot except indignation at the lawless wrongs which preceded and embittered it, and admiration of the men by whom they had been worthily denounced. No doubt our English sympathies have been all on one side, and *that* the defeated one; but for no other reason than prevails with patriots of Massachusetts or New-York; because resistance to the Southern policy appears essential to the true glory of the Republic and the best hopes of the world. If we are disappointed and disquieted at the issue of the contest, it is because we could desire better guarantees for the peace, the freedom, the permanently high example, of an empire nearest in kindred and youngest in promise."

The reviewer considers the cause of *freedom* as essentially LOST in America. The free North, bruised, stunned, and bleeding, is handed over, bound hand and foot, into the safe-keeping of omnipotent slave power. Herein he corrects the more sanguine views of the English liberalist: "All his strongest feelings and most fixed ideas render him inaccessible to such an apprehension: his instincts of justice, his political economy, *his respect for Brother Jonathan, who thrashed him and set up for himself, his admiration of Washington and the great Republic*, his trust in the veracity of their declaration, 'All men are born free and equal,' combine to assure him that, somehow or other, emancipation cannot be far off."

The reviewer proceeds to give a history of the entire struggle for freedom against domestic despotism from the Revolution to the present time.

During our colonial existence, slavery became diffused over the entire surface of the *old thirteen*. When the war of independence rose, the noble anti-slavery spirit rose with it. After the Declaration pronounced that "All men are born free and equal," the Supreme Court of Boston declared that that formula, incorporated into the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, terminated slavery. This example was essentially followed by New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To the honor of these states, and, we may add, New-York, it may be affirmed that emancipation was the offspring of the genuine spirit of liberty. That was the noble spirit with which they were first born as states; and if ever the temper of servility and base apology for slavery has infected their sons, it has come as a *taint*, borne upon the breezes of political connection and expedience, from the heated climes of bondage. In every state, except Georgia and South Carolina, the tendency of this period, purified by the Revolutionary struggle, was for *abolition*. In this temper the *Constitution was founded*. That great COMPROMISE was based—at least shaped—in the understanding that the *duration of slavery was transient*. That monster has, at this moment, no equitable right to life. His constitutional duty, long since, was

DEATH. His very existence, at the present moment, is not only an insult to the nineteenth century, but a breach of faith, hardly less unequivocal than the great murder of the Missouri Compromise.

Meantime, a great material interest has shaped the moral position of both Church and State at the South. The rise of the cotton product and commerce is a great phenomenon. It sprung, in a few brief years, to a world-wide importance, and incorporated with itself the imagined necessity—certainly the great convenience—of slave labor. But the entire surface of the old states would soon have received an ample supply of slaves, and the system would have been at a stand. The institution would not, perhaps, have lived long within its old limits; but the remedy for its languor, and the renewer of its existence, was found in *annexation*. Annexation is the true perpetuator of slavery. When this new phase of slave-history commenced, a new *industrial* product and a new commerce were added to the cotton trade. Virginia and her old sisters have become the American Guinea. That once venerable state has gone to raising babies for sale! Each new annexation adds to her market, and renders her more wrathful at abolition *fanaticism*; at the same time, it increases her *pious* abhorrence at the foreign importation. Perhaps the great preventive of the revival of the slave trade, at the present moment, is, not the virtue of Northern politicians, but the domestic rivalry of the Old Dominion against that commerce.

The National reviewer next traces the history of the struggle through its successive stages, in which he finds that freedom has regularly waxed faint before the brow of despotism. The three great battles were over—1. The Northwest Territory: 2. The Louisiana Purchase: 3. The Acquisitions from Mexico.

The Northwest Territory was exempted from slavery simultaneously with the formation of the Constitution. "Squatter sovereignty" was then unborn. No one doubted the power of Congress over slavery in the territories. That *squatting* child of corruption has sprung full-blown, but very unlike Minerva, from a later brain. This constitutional period was the primitive age, and the age of the hard-won triumph of freedom.

Next came the acquisition of Louisiana, with slavery already existing at its lower margin, around the southern swellings of the Mississippi. But slavery, though thinning northwardly, was, even in those days, spasmodically energetic. She stretched the line of battle even to the Missouri plains, and there she waged a valiant fight. When, in 1818, Missouri applied for admission as a state, the House of Representatives, by repeated majorities, passed a proviso emancipating all persons at a certain period. The Senate struck it out, and the bill failed.

In 1819-20 the same contest reappeared. The Senate, as now, the stronghold of slavery, struck out the Missouri proviso. At length, the South said to the North, (and it was a Southern measure,) "Pass Missouri without the restriction, and we will agree to the restriction north of the Missouri line." This was the celebrated Missouri Compromise; a compact in which freedom was shamefully driven northward.

Some thirty years later came the acquisitions from the Mexican war—a war

solely prompted by the purpose of extending the area of slavery. The election of General Taylor placed in the presidential chair a slaveholder who would not truckle to slavery. Then came up Mr. Clay's Compromise of 1850. While General Taylor lived the cause of freedom was, at this crisis, evidently triumphing. The reviewer is utterly at a loss to discover by what means the free-soil side suddenly fell so low as to yield to that *compromise*, which was, in fact, no compromise at all. It surrendered the most important points; and the pretended set-offs it received were what really already belonged to the free states. The only thing conceded to the North was the removal of the Columbia slave-market from *inside* to *outside*. It was very much such a compromise as an honest traveler makes who surrenders his purse and *saves his skin*; and so patches up a peace with a bad customer. The puzzle of the reviewer as to this sudden sinkage of free-soilism we can fully explain. It arose from the death of General Taylor and the accession of Mr. Fillmore. Previous to those two sad events, the Whig party had been essentially the effective freedom party; but that party was now called upon to cultivate Mr. Fillmore's chances for a reelection by courting the slave power. A liberal slaveholder is always safer for freedom than a bargaining Northern concessionist. Forthwith, the Whig party led the way, and the two great political parties engaged in a rivalry to show which could make the largest bids to the slave power. Freedom at once fell to zero. This will explain to the reviewer what he calls "The Disgraces of 1850."

The Review next traces the great national treachery of the Nebraska bill; a measure by which all that the great *surrender* of the Missouri Compromise had reserved for freedom was to be now handed over to slavery. And this congressional *surrender*, in theory, was simultaneous with a previously prepared military plot for an armed incursion into the free section, by which the ground which the bill surrendered the usurpation should seize. The *surrender* and the *foray* went hand in hand, as counterparts of the one great plot from the one vile source. The peaceable and legal obstacle interposed by the emigration aid societies, if it has not defeated the crime, served to develop the atrocities of the conspiracy, and draw it out into manifestations which shock the civilized world, and will draw upon it the execration of indignant history. The wrath of the myrmidons of slavery, at this righteous and skillful expedient, proves its brilliant efficacy; and that the wrath should come fulminated forth in the form of high executive messages, proves that the border ruffian was fully in league with the central accomplice in the presidential chair.

That, under the moral pressure of these atrocious aggressions from the slave power, the late contest should have gone in favor of slavery, is, to the reviewer, a token of *despair*, not only in regard to emancipation, but even in regard to limitation. The man whom the extensionists elected is President; and annexation, which is extension and perpetuation, is triumphant.

We offer no opinion as to the probable correctness of these convictions; but there is one idea with which we desire to take issue: "It is little that England can do toward solving the domestic problems of a susceptible people, not yet forgetful of old injuries, and avowedly preferring even Russian sympathies to her own." Now, we can assure our English friends that the *heart* of our

nation has not the slightest yearning toward his despotic majesty, the Imperial Knout of all the Siberias. The slave-power did, for a while, talk of alliance with England as against the free-power of the North. When the people of England scouted their pretenses with just scorn, they then turned, with a more natural affinity, to the great KNOT; and, if repelled by him, may find their next natural ally in Bomba, of Naples. But the free heart of our great America, in spite of all differences, beats with an independent sympathy for Saxon, Protestant, constitutional England—the land of the BIBLE, the JURY, and the fetterless PRESS.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW takes a more hopeful view of the ultimate triumph of freedom; nay, of the destruction of slavery, and the consequent peace and prosperity of the Union. But this future *paradise* it describes beyond a previous terrible purgatory for the South:

"We have taken up our pen, on the present occasion, to call attention to the slow but sure working of a cause which few seem to notice; but which will, ere long, cut the Gordian knot which so many hands are trying in vain to untie. The great 'difficulty' in and with America is the system of slavery. The great support of slavery is not any set of particular political opinions, not the predominance of any one party in the state, not even the ascendancy of the South over the North in the great council of the nation, but the cotton crop. Slave-grown cotton supplies free England, and, through her, all Europe, with cotton goods. They are grown in America, made up in Lancashire, and thence diffused over the world. India and China clothe their swarthy sons and daughters with the slave production of Carolina and Georgia; and, so long as this monopoly lasts, so long slavery in America is safe. But there is a net-work of railways covering British India which will, in a few years, bring down Indian cotton more in quantity, and even finer in quality, than that which America can supply, and at a considerably cheaper rate. Tunis is commencing, under the most favorable auspices, the same kind of agriculture. The French government is encouraging its growth in Algeria. Liberia is becoming, also, a competitor in the market; and it seems morally certain that, in a quarter of a century, we shall be as independent of the United States for cotton as we are now for sugar. Such a circumstance as this can have but one termination: the estates in Virginia and the other earlier planted states are already becoming poor and exhausted; slavery has brought poverty with it; and when there is no longer the same demand for cotton, and when, after a comparatively short time, the demand almost ceases, then slavery can no longer be upheld. The estates in the Southern states will pass through the same cycle as our own West India islands have done, and will, perhaps, go almost wholly out of cultivation. That much calamity will attend such a cycle, we cannot for a moment doubt; but the result will be a far greater degree of prosperity. They will pass from slave states to free states; the rivalry between North and South will come to an end, and America will be fully at liberty to pursue her glorious destiny, and be the civilizer, and, ultimately, the ruler of the Western hemisphere. It is a singular, but a most encouraging proof, that this theory is not a mere theory, that our West India islands are now beginning to recover from their long ruin. Estates in Jamaica which, but five years ago, were offered for £3,000, are now sought for at £7,000; and we have no hesitation in predicting that, before ten years are passed away, those magnificent islands will be rejoicing in a *free* prosperity, far greater than that which they enjoyed during the most palmy days of their slave cultivation."

On this we may remark, that deeply as we condemn slavery, and earnest as is our moral abhorrence of the course of its extensionists North and South, we earnestly desire and pray the peace and happiness of the present slave states. Slavery, though in the *South*, is not the *South*. It is only the terrible, oppressive night-mare upon the South, struggling to extend its catalogue of curses over

the North. For the people over whom that curse and crime reigns, blasting their soil, consuming their wealth, depopulating their towns, corrupting their sons, shriveling their intellect, and ruining their souls, we have a heart of as true a sympathy, as earnest a desire for their true, highest happiness, as the South herself contains. It would, then, be no matter of rejoicing, that their genuine prosperity should be even partially suspended; but this extract does illustrate the fearfulness of that policy, which slavery compels the South to adopt, of embarking all their prosperity upon the permanent monopoly of one great staple, amid the present mighty changes of the productive sources and commercial currents of the world.

We may call attention to the fact that, in spite of the pro-slavery pretenses to the contrary, the sublime and costly act of emancipation, by which England abolished slavery in the West Indies, *has been an ultimate triumph for freedom and humanity.* Let both the friends and foes of human welfare note the propitious omen!

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

(1.) "*Essays and Reviews*, by CHARLES HODGE. Selected from the Princeton Review." (8vo., pp. 633. New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1857.) We have here a stately specimen of the fine old cast-iron Calvinian Theology. *Old* we call it, but not *ancient*; for the Augustinian heresy, of which it is the hard-favored but legitimate descendant, or rather the essential identity, belongs not to the pure antiquity of the Christian Church, being unknown to the first three centuries of her history. It was and is simply an attempt to establish the fatality of old Stoicism in the center of the Christian system; a principle which is about as genial to our blessed religion, and about as amalgamable into its life and substance, as a blacksmith's anvil and sledge imbedded into the heart of a blooming young palm, would be to the living growth that painfully incloses it. As a solution of the problem of human responsibility and divine government, it is a grim and ghastly failure. It is based upon the very policy of ignoring the difficulty, and not only crushing the inquiry by arbitrary authority, but of suppressing the indestructible instinct of *justice* in the human soul which creates the inquiry. As it thus abhors the natural and most sacred sentiments of the human soul, the souls of men naturally and sacredly abhor it. The consequences are, that the sullen system is generally confined to a narrow and crisped school in the Christian Church; a school which, as human inquiry

grows more independent and the natural sense of right and justice more developed, is growing "small by degrees and beautifully less."

Of this system it is the melancholy inheritance of Dr. Hodge to be a set defender. The man was worthy of a better fate. His works exhibit qualities deserving to be employed in a truer and more hopeful cause. There are that robustness of thought, that capacious erudition, that trained logic, that measure of imagination which, dealing more in shapings than in colorings, furnishes palpably forth the conceptions with which logic operates, all wrought into an animated stateliness of style which imparts a manly form and consistency, and suggests the presence of a massy and columnar intellect. Where truth is really to be defended, or actual error to be routed, the work is done with the power of a master. Where a set error is to be maintained, an ancient sophism to be retwined, he performs the hereditary maneuver in the well-established and most approved method. Where a counter truth is to be parried or a winding evasion is to be threaded, the feat is performed with a very eel-like lubricity. But, worst of all, when a terrible proposition—menacing the foundations of human responsibility and the divine government, mutilating the human soul and disfiguring the divine countenance—is to be broached, Dr. Hodge can state it with that terribly calm precision, that placid unconsciousness of all demand for flinch or shudder, that proves how much the living *man* has evanesced and left nothing but the *schoolman*.

Let the reader who thinks this language too strong, accept a specimen. Dr. Hodge believes most blandly—he treats its opposite as an *of course* absurdity—that no human volition, however atrocious its nature, could be otherwise than it is. Nay, he believes that for every sin ever committed, there existed in the sinner in the case no volitional power to will otherwise. That this falsifies human nature and belies all human action; that it sheds a bleak, unnatural aspect of automatism upon the free, living world, every unperverted mind sees. Put on these necessitarian spectacles, and all live agents look granite colored, and forthwith the world is a rock-hewn panorama. No man sees it as he sees it with the natural eye. Yet for these actions without power of willing otherwise in the case, Dr. Hodge believes that it is just to inflict eternal damnation! A grim, gentle smile lights his features at the stark absurdity of supposing otherwise. And as if this did not make damnation quite fatalistic enough. Dr. Hodge believes that God arbitrarily decrees the sin for which he forever damns the sinner. And as if this were not quite fatalistic enough, he renders the volitional actions of God as necessary and as incapable of alterity as the actions of men, and so God is petrified into the same universal rock-hewn Petra as automatic man. So by Dr. Hodge's terrible theory of the moral universe, are God and the universe reduced to an infinite mummy, bandaged with an eternal "iron shroud" of relentless fatalism. On this theory God is a corpse and the universe is his coffin. Dr. Hodge's axioms are the last propositions of a *reductio ad absurdum*. We have no conception precisely of what stuff men's cerebrals are created, to whom absurdities like these are first truths; or to whom horrors like these are, forsooth, "doctrines of grace." We tell Dr. Hodge that no theory he assails can be so false as the assumption whence he starts. He deals refutation bravely round

the ring; but his opponents are only at the circumference while he is at the center of absurdity.

All these pieces are incidental; being shafts drawn forth by some errorist to be transixed, or the shield interposed over some champion of truth to be defended. Dr. Cox had woven heresy about regeneration into some of his terribly pompous Anglo-Romanic vernacularities, and Dr. Hodge proceeds to eliminate the false threads from the fabric. Professor Stuart had embodied Pelagianism into his exegesis upon Romans, and Dr. Hodge proceeds to rescue St. Paul from Pelagius. Dr. Andrews Norton had endeavored to put the quietus upon the "Latest form of Infidelity," but had performed it in so semi-infidel a way, that Dr. Hodge manfully rushes out, with sharp and glittering annihilator in hand, reslays the slain, and then immolates the slayer upon the pile of corpses. The various attempted theological improvements, by Beman upon the Atonement, by Finney upon Responsibility, by Bushnell upon the Trinity and Christian Nurture, are successively ejected from the ground, and the old Genevan system is restated and re-instated. Then come two pieces upon the subject of slavery and emancipation, which ably state the anti-agitation argument as it existed anterior to the rise in the South, of the strange, and, we trust, temporary phrensy in favor of perpetuating and extending the slaveocratic despotism. Last of all, we have Dr. Hodge's able refutation of Professor Park's ingenious, but untenable doctrine of duplicate theologies.

We close the volume with a profound respect for the abilities of the writer, and a profound regret that truth is not at its center and life is not in its soul. It is a powerful yet fruitless series of attempts to revive the obsolescent. For a while Princeton will reverently enshrine these essays with her standard authorities, the strongholds of her traditional theology. But it is but for a while. Truth and time will conquer. In due time they will pass from the enshrinement to a stratification. At a still later period, they will be only occasionally exhumed by the amateurs in the relics of departed systems in Princeton's somewhat fossiliferous region.

(2.) "*Religious Truth illustrated from Science, in Addresses and Sermons on special occasions, by EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D.D., late President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology.*" (12mo., pp. 422. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) The double character of President Hitchcock as clergyman and savant, has admirably qualified him for developing the contact points between religion and science. He has done much to maintain the independent march of scientific truth against the cavils of well-meaning, but superstitious alarmists. Few in this country have contributed more toward navigating the public mind in its dangerous transition from an old to a new mode of Biblical interpretation under the guidance of scientific discovery. Few have done more toward illustrating the principles and confirming the verity of revelation by the light of nature's developments. Each new publication of his is, therefore, welcome received as the manifesto of an authority in this important department.

The pieces of this book mostly bear the impress of Christian science. Those

of this sort are divisible into two classes: those in which religious morality is illustrated, and those in which the truth of religion is argued.

The former class might well be called *scientific parables*. In them the more occult facts of science are made to bear the same relation to religious morality that the patent facts of nature do in the parables of our Saviour. Thus, from the popular and obvious facts of the *leaven* impregnating the *flour*, our Saviour illustrates the impregnating influence of religion in the heart. Thence our author takes the same illustration, and, under the title of "Catalytic Power of the Gospel," he traces the analogy between the chemical secrets of fermentation and the penetrating energy of the Gospel in the masses of mankind. From *mineralogy* he portrays the various characters of his auditors as *transparent, hydrophanous, semi-transparent, translucent, doubly refractive, phosphorescent, dichroic, chatoyant, and opaque*. From astronomy he illustrates the *opposite attractions* of heaven and earth upon the Christian heart. These were, in fact, *sermons*; doubtless as unsuited sermons for an ordinary audience, as Father Taylor's seamen sermons for mere fresh-water landlubbers; but as impressive for the scholars to whom they were delivered, as appeals ever are when drawn from sources familiar and dear to the habits and hearts of the hearers. More interesting, however, is the class in which he states the logical relations of scientific facts to religious truth.

In a lecture upon "Special Divine Interpositions in Nature," Prof. Hitchcock discusses the nature of *miracle* and *special Providence*. He finds an instance of a sort of special Providence for the race in nature, in the instance of the immense deposits of coal laid up for human generations. But might we not argue that every class, as a class, is a unit? And so, as the human race is a unit, and a specialty, every provision made for the race is a special Providence. So that all the adjustments of Nature, in which the arrangement seems an antecedent and man's enjoyment the result, are of the nature of the special Providence. They differ from a special expenditure of contrivance upon a single man, only in extension. The one is a specialty for one race, and the other a specialty for one individual. The object in one case is simply larger than in the other.

In a lecture upon "The Religious Bearings of Man's Creation," Prof. H. illustrates the marked separateness of man from all mere animal races. It is a great mistake to suppose that from the summit of the Caucasian race down through the lower races of humanity, and even to and through the animal species, there is an unbroken series shading off by infinitesimal differences. The human race, as animal frame, is encircled by a broad trench isolating it from the surrounding species. "Any anatomist, who will take the trouble to compare the skeletons of the negro and orang, cannot fail to be struck at sight with the wide gap which separates them. The difference between the cranium, the pelvis, and the conformation of the upper extremities, in the negro and the Caucasian, sinks into insignificance when compared with the vast difference which exists between the conformation of the same parts in the negro and the orang."

Dr. H. then traces the mental differences. The main differences he finds in individual mental *educability* and in the *idea of right and wrong*. But on

the former of these two points he omits the more powerful argument drawn from the educability of man as a *species*. The beaver of two thousand years ago built as good a hut as he builds to-day. During that time the Anglo-Saxon has risen from a wigwam to the splendors of the exposition of the Crystal Palace. On the second of the above two points, Prof. H., in addition to the absence of the *moral idea*, might have added the brutes' incapability of all the pure reason conceptions. The brute has a certain negative horror of destruction. The cattle raise a moan of horror over a spot bloody with slaughter. But the positive idea of *immortality*, of eternity, of infinity, or even of number, can never arise in their minds.

Prof. H. traces with much interest the logical results arising from the clear proof of man's recent geological existence. This negates at once the *theory of development*, by which man is supposed to have *grown* from an atom by infinitesimal improvements to his present perfection. It negates the theory of his production by an infinite series of causes; for nothing but a speciality could have produced man in a sudden perfection. It negates the idea of creation by *mere abstract law*; for here is a being springing into full-blown existence without the uniformity of law. It refutes all argument against miracle; for, as was well said some years since in the Edinburgh Review, (we quote from memory,) the greatest miracle that earth ever saw was on the day when man walked forth in the full completeness of his nature. The description which Milton gives of the scene and sensations of man's creation, are as scientifically true as they are poetically beautiful. Finally, man's recent creation gives a general verification to the Mosiac chronology. The "endless genealogies" of infidel fancy are clipped with a fatal scissors, and we come back to find a wondrous truth again in the good old book.

The argument in favor of miracles, though placed on more definite and firmer foundations by geology, is hardly as new as Prof. H. seems to intimate. Dr. Campbell, in his masterly reply to Hume on Miracles, has a chapter on the necessary certainty of miracles, founded on the origins of things, of the same nature as this geological argument; which, though less sustained by the then existing state of science, exhibits great ingenuity and no mean force.

President Hitchcock, as a writer, most excels in the clear and regular level of scientific style. He is naturally a clear-minded observer and thinker, who is well qualified to write good sense in lucid language. He has *enthusiasm*; which, however, animates his actions rather than *inspires* his periods. His *eloquence* is rather the product of effort arising from the consciousness that the *earnest* is required, than the spontaneous glow of a mind that naturally catches fire. His exclamations do not set his reader's mind ablaze like the rapid periods of Prof. Sedgwick or Hugh Miller, nor has he anything of the elegant flow of Lyell. But he occupies the position of a master in his department; he has done much to tranquilize the thoughtful public on a disturbing subject; and even where, as in the present volume, he produces little that is essentially new, it is his fortune, as it is his right, to find willing audit from the public attention.

(3.) "*The Gift of Power*; or, the Special Influences of the Holy Spirit the Need of the Church, by Rev. S. H. PLATT, with an Introduction by Rev. NATHAN BANGS, D.D." (12mo., pp. 277. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) We recognize the simultaneous appearance of the Tongue of Fire in England, and the Gift of Power in America, as among the most auspicious of "the signs of the times." Amid the intense worldliness which is so eminently characteristic of the present age, it is truly refreshing to a Christian heart to know that there are men of God who are carefully inquiring what is the need of the Church and the world, and to hear their trumpet-tones as they sound the convictions of their minds and hearts upon the ears of their fellow-men. The spirit of the apostles has not yet passed away; the mantle of the fathers has fallen upon more or fewer of the children. There are those who propose the questions, How can the Church be rendered more holy and efficient? and, How can the world be reached and saved? with as intense an earnestness as the masses inquire, what they shall eat, and drink, and wear; how they shall acquire wealth, secure honor, possess power, enjoy pleasure, or accomplish any grand and important, yet worldly and selfish object.

Though hastily written, as appears from the statement of the author, and from even a cursory perusal of it, it abounds in thoughts and sentences of beauty and of power; and being, we believe, the first publication of the young author, it gives cheering promise of what he may yet accomplish for the Church as a writer. No observant and thinking Christian can have failed to arrive at the conclusion that the Church has done and is doing little, compared with what she might and ought to do. That "the utmost exertion of every faculty in its appropriate sphere is always duty," is a truth to which reason, conscience, and the Bible prepare every man to yield assent. And that the Church has not exerted all her powers, and employed all her resources, clearly appears, whether we consider her daily movements or the results which she achieves.

Her origin is divine; her resources are the treasures of Omnipotence; her mission is to evangelize and save the world. Of course she is adapted to the work for which a God of infinite wisdom destined her; no endowment necessary to render her competent to its accomplishment has been withheld, and if she has failed she is to blame, and she alone. Thus have we reasoned for years gone by; but seldom have we had so deep and painful a conviction of her delinquency as has been produced by the arguments and statistics of this volume. The world should have been, ere this, evangelized; but how very little has been done, if the resources of the Church and the masses who are living and have died unsaved are but considered. Nor can aught else than "the gift of power" stir up the Church to avail herself of her resources, and to put forth the efforts demanded by God; and requisite, in order to success upon the scale marked out by him. In vain, without this, are her material advantages, her position, her gold and silver, her trained ministry, her multitudinous publications, her seminaries and colleges, her costly and magnificent churches. Good in their place, they are powerless as is a corpse, to bless and save, without this "gift." Despite them all, souls around us in countless multitudes are passing onward and downward to the pit, and, in too many instances, the professed disciples of the Saviour, instead of drawing them back by their

contributions and their toils, actually impel them deathward by their gross inconsistency. And so it must and will be, until the Church is "endued with power from on high."

We do not, however, believe, with our author, that faith either *has* or *needs*, in our day, the power of working physical miracles. "The common belief of the Church, that the power to work miracles has passed away, and that it is nothing less than fanaticism for any one now to claim even the possibility of possessing that power, much more the actual possession of it," was ours when we commenced the perusal of this volume, and is ours still, despite the earnest reasonings of the author to evince the contrary. Indeed, we regard this part of the book as "*the fly in the ointment*." Nor do "the qualifications of divine suggestion, stimulating faith, nor divine power working by it," sufficiently guard this point; for all enthusiasts pretend to both the one and the other. "The gift of power" attainable by us, as we do and must believe, consists, not in the ability to perform physical miracles, but in a supernatural influence *alone*, quickening the intellect and stirring the heart, and preparing us to affect mightily the intellects and hearts of those around us. This only, the Church needs to day, and this she may possess. Would she but seek and secure it, the ministry would go forth burning with love, pure and quenchless, to the divine work of winning souls for heaven, and the membership would soon form a triumphant army in conquering the world to Messiah's dominion. T.

(4) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor at Erlangen. Revised after the fourth German edition, by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D." (Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) The second volume of this great work has promptly appeared. So far as we have observed, the publication meets a universally favorable reception. We may note, with approbation, the fact, that the translator uniformly supplies to the Greek phrases, when quoted, the equivalent English. The notes of the American editor are very few; fewer than we think, on the whole, desirable. This second volume nearly closes the Evangelists. We need not repeat our own commendations of the work; but we may add, that we do not by any means advise its *substitution in the place* of our standard English evangelical commentators. Our own young denomination has done things in this department, which time and comparison will not put aside. Wesley, Benson, Clarke, and Watson, may receive comrades upon the shelves of our ministerial libraries, but no supplanters. But as an addition to these, there is nothing in our language like this splendid, suggestive, and luminous series of dissertations on the sacred text.

(5) "*Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova: a Series of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews; designed as an Introduction to the Study of Hebrew Literature*, by J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A., Doctor in Philosophy." (12mo., pp. 507. London: Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1856.) Dr. Etheridge is by birth "a Hebrew of the Hebrews;" but in spirit and faith

he is now a Christian of the Christians; and in the purity and beauty of his style, an Englishman of the Englishmen. He is evidently a great master of his recondite subject; and it was the absolute absence of any treatise of the kind in our language, which happily compelled him to become its author.

Upon the first page, the volume is touchingly "Inscribed to the Memory of Eliza Middleton Etheridge," a departed daughter, for whose sake some portions of the work were written. In the preface a reference of exquisite pathos is made, and a page of parental biography devoted to her, which, however little apparently germane to the subject of the book, every person of sensibility will not only indulge, but feel sorry to have lost, and will find himself prepared for the unconscious pensiveness which reigns through this memorial of the sad fortunes, but rich literature of his race. His daughter had, merely as a pastime, gradually won a complete mastery of the sacred dialect, and through it, had entered the domains of the holy records. Her heart had enjoyed the purifying influences of the inspired poetry; and thence been led to the enjoyment of those Christian truths, which beautified her life and made her death sad to her parental survivor only. The doctor believes that it would be well, could all our children thus be led direct to the pure sacred fountains, and thence "to a rich and beautiful department of the belles lettres in the moral writings of the Jews." The work contains a concise view of the post-Biblical literature of the Jews, from Ezra to the present time. Through the various schools of Jerusalem, and of Tiberias, of Sora on the Euphrates, and of Cordova, in Spain, he traces the intellectual progress of his race, and closes with a cheerful view of their ultimate restoration and conversion by the second coming of the Messiah.

(6.) "*Private Thoughts upon Religion and a Christian Life*, by WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. Asaph." (2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) Bishop Beveridge, one of the few prelates of the English hierarchy to whom we feel no incongruity in applying the epithet *saint*, was born a little more than two centuries ago, and was in his prime during the revolution that banished James II. from the throne of England, and fully established the Protestant religion in the realm. His piety was of the pure and lovely kind of Fenelon and Fletcher. He was truly pronounced by one high in the Church of his day, "one of the greatest and best men that England ever had."

The volumes are somewhat miscellaneous in their character. First, there are twelve articles of Christian Faith, truly Scriptural and truly Protestant in their character, with a meditative elucidation of the doctrine attached to each article. These are, in fact, the *Thoughts upon Religion*, which, although embracing but about half the first volume, somewhat improperly give title to the whole works. The twelve articles are followed by a fivefold series of Resolutions, with expanded dissertations upon each Resolve; concerning the Affections, the Words, the Actions, the Relations, and the Talents. Then follow a number of brief, but valuable Tractates, upon various topics of religion, blending the meditative, the doctrinal, and the practical, in a very pure, perspicuous, and often eloquent style of discourse. The concluding treatise is

upon the importance of frequent communion. This last topic is calculated, we think, to awaken in the minds of our ministry who may peruse it, the query whether the fear of formalism in the sacramental ordinance in our own Church, has not reduced it to a mere form. How very seldom do our ministry precede the communion with a sermon on the communion. How rarely are its holy obligations broadly expanded, enforced, and applied to the conviction, consolation, and sanctification of the soul.

(7.) "*Duties, Tests, and Comforts*, by Rev. DAYTON F. REED, of the New-ark Annual Conference, with an Introduction by Rev. J. M'CLINTOCK, D.D." (12mo., pp. 219. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1857.) This little volume is the production of a young minister endowed with a somewhat unique power of pointed illustration. That gift, consecrated to the cause of God and employed in pulpit service, is often effective in touching and disturbing the conscience, and yet so attracting the attention, as to win the wounded sinner again to attend and court the point that stung him. The book has not a little of the same attractiveness. Few will feel exactly happy in reading it; few but will be drawn to read it again; and few will doubt that it is the kind of book they ought to read; or deny that it discloses dangers, reproves shortcomings, and disturbs false repose that very much need the alarm of such an awakener. It would be a great blessing if every member of our Church could read and feel its detective power over sin in the heart, laziness in the limbs, and covetousness in the purse. If some benevolent spirit would donate it as a tract to many of our *wealthier professors*, it might do much good to that increasing, and perhaps neglected class of objects of Christian faithfulness.

(8.) "*French Mission Life; or, Sketches of Remarkable Conversions and other Events among French Romanists in the City of Detroit; with Five Letters to the Roman Catholic Bishop residing in that City*, by Rev. THOMAS CARTER." (16mo., pp. 157. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) The transparent French thought of Mr. Carter runs through his English style, rendering it the easiest reading in the world. There is a genial spirit, too, which belongs to the French character, with which the geniality of Methodism so naturally blends, that it has repeatedly suggested the feeling that to Methodism belongs the mission to Protestantize France.

Mr. Carter encountered Romanism in all its grades, from the humble servant girl to the haughty prelate himself. There are polemics who might have fought a tighter argumentative battle; but there are few who could so blend the gentle spirit of the Lamb of God with the force of the argument as at once to melt, convince, and win. His series of little narratives is full of interesting event and dialogue. It is a most readable book, and will do to put into the hands of any Romanist open to conviction.

(9.) "*A Book of Public Prayer*, compiled from the Authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church, as prepared by the Reformers, Calvin,

Knox, Bucer, and others. With Supplementary Forms." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) Recorded prayer is the most sacred of all possible permanent forms of words. Whether in the Psalms of David, or in the formula dictated by our Lord, or interspersed through the sacred records, no part of the Bible itself can be more instructive than the Biblical prayers. And so, also, the recorded prayers of holy men in past ages of the Church, are to a right understanding, perhaps, the most valuable part of Christian literature. They are more sacred than articles of doctrine. They are the essence of religion in the clearest, most unalloyed possible shape. We hesitate not to say that to us the most touching and most valuable relics of primitive Christian antiquity, are the earliest extant prayers. Mr. Wesley's revised Prayer Book is a volume scarcely known in our country; it has never had a republication; but we have examined with great interest a copy of its first edition, which has fallen in our way, once owned by an official member of the earliest John-street Church.

To persons of like feeling on the subject, this beautiful volume, containing the prayers of the early reformers, published without any purpose of general adoption in public worship, is a gem in the literature of prayer. To their notice we heartily commend it.

(10.) "*Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco, California; embracing Incidents, Triumphant Death-scenes, etc.*, by Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Edited by W. P. STRICKLAND." (12mo., pp. 394. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street.) Of all Protestant ministries, the Methodist, it is now fairly allowed, presents most *history*. Clerical biography is still and nearly dull, until you approach the itinerant confines; and then a certain lively action seems to commence. Before it was slow, flowing dissertation; it is now piquant anecdote, marked character, stirring event. Mechanical routine is disturbed, and direct operations, aiming unceremoniously at an end, take place. Before, we had Christianity in form; we have now "Christianity in earnest."

Mr. Taylor's narrative is just a specimen in point. Who should be a California missionary but a man of action, flexibility, and versatile expedient? He should be ready for every emergence, and have a turn for every crisis. His voice should be heard in the street, and he should have a brave heart to risk a martyr's death in fighting the battles of God against the desperadoes of Satan. Such a man wins spoils for his holy cause, and makes rare materials for stirring history like the book before us.

(11.) "*Fidelity to Truth; or, What Church Shall I Join? A Discourse*, by REV. FRANCIS HODGSON, D.D." (24mo., pp. 80. Philadelphia: T. K. & P. G. Collins, 1857.) Dr. Hodgson is a penetrating, independent, and somewhat unique thinker. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; not on the authority of the teachings of that Church, but because said Church and he mainly *agree*. He is Wesleyan; not because he follows, but because he *coincides* with John Wesley. With him, the organism is deeply loved and

warmly defended because it successfully blends with the individualism. The moment a discord takes place, and he finds that the pearl of doctrinal truth is inclosed in some other organism, no motive of interest can continue his allegiance to error; he takes a transfer.

This, doubtless, is the general ground the moral law requires. The man who, from motives of interest or other selfish feeling, supports a false religious doctrine instead of what he conscientiously believes the true, is therein a sinner. If he does it from motives of convenience and ease, he is a sluggard; if from pride or money he is a traitor; if from fear, he is a coward. We have sometimes had an intrusion of infidel doubts as to the genuineness of religious experience, when we have seen young converts, yet warm in their first love, turn from what they felt to be the Church of truth and genuine piety, and from motives of worldly connection or supposed higher respectability, become the stereotype parts of what they felt to be a dead and erroneous denomination.

Dr. Hodgson has opened, but perhaps has not exhausted, this fresh vein of thought. Might he not render his treatise more complete and more exact, by drawing out the universal rules of moral law on this topic, and thereby meet the various supposable cases and possible excuses for belonging to a Church, in whose articles one does not fully believe? What am I to do if my belief does not fully accord with any Church? Suppose I have embarked my whole life, and passed long years, and am doing much good in a given Church, when a doubt of some article arises, what is my right course? Suppose I am fully convinced that a certain Church, though less accurate in faith, possesses more piety and will help me more to be pious? How important in fact, after all, are the points that divide evangelical denominations? Suppose I am a minister, and upon some point do not coincide with my Church, may I consent to be silent on that point? These are not mere theoretical questions. They are not unworthy discussion. Perhaps in another edition, Dr. H. may give them the benefit of his acumen.

(12.) "*The Inspiration of Holy Scripture; its Nature and Proof.* Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by WILLIAM LEE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College." (8vo., pp. 478. Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is, undoubtedly, the greatest work in our language on the most important topic of religious inquiry now before the religious world. It contains some striking views. The writer is a great master of his subject; and his work, with some defects of style, is a repository of erudition for the student. We should enter more fully upon its merits, but it will form the topic of a complete article, in a future number, by an able hand.

II.—Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

(13.) "*Modern Atheism under its Forms of Pantheism, Materialism, Secularism, Development, and Natural Laws,* by JAMES BUCHANAN, D.D., LL.D., Divinity Professor in the New College, Edinburgh." (12mo. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1856.) Dr. Buchanan is the successor to Chalmers in the Edinburgh Fourth Series, VOL. IX.—21

burgh "New College," under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland. Hugh Miller's verdict upon the present work was, "One of the most readable and solid which we have ever perused." The Scotch Free Church organ announces that "it fixes irreversibly the name of its author as a leading classic in the Christian literature of Britain." An "American critic" pronounces the author, or at least his work, "strong as a Titan." We have no wish to disturb an irreversible fixture, or reduce the dimensions of a genuine Titan. We recognize no *giant*, however, in the performance; but an able intellect which has fully mastered a great subject, and is endowed with the faculty of clearly expounding it. He belongs to the order of *constructive*, rather than of *creative* minds. He lucidly and roundly states the argument, rather than brings into existence a fresh solution, or a hitherto unthought demonstration. There is an orderly system in his arrangement, a perspicuity in his expression, and a copious flow without redundancy in his style, which render him a most acceptable manager of a subject in itself frequently abstruse. Yet we are forced to confess that sometimes we seem to find in the roundness of the author's periods, a certain want of sharp, definite outline, and an absence of a logical compactness, by which you would feel that the thing is concisely and completely said, and forever stays said. We leave his subject, with a certain unsatisfied consciousness, as if a screw were slightly loose; as if either the essential argument were somehow defective, or as if it had not been quite effectively put.

Indeed, we are inclined to feel that the *natural impression* of God's existence is stronger than any arguments to prove it. The attitude of arguing the subject is unnatural. It puts us into a position of voluntary doubt; and when in that position, logic has scarce the purchase whereby to push us to our place again. Sermons to prove God's existence are inefficient things, simply because the faith of the congregation is stronger than the argument of the preacher; and so, after he has put his hearers in the attitude of questioning, and finished his performance, they are unconsciously half inclined to say, "And is that all the reason for believing there really is a God?" And so, could a Berkeleyan philosopher put the same audience really into the position of sincerely *doubting* the existence of the external world, he would find all the arguments he could invent to refute the doubt perfectly fruitless; he could never undo the damage he had done; and his only remedy would be, to send them out into the fresh open air, and allow their instinctive faith again to recover the power to affirm that a world is materially a world, and a spade is truly a spade.

And we seem to think that all the arguments for Theism and all the sophisms of Atheism are early in the thoughts of the rudest mind. The argument for a God springs up full grown in the childish query, *Who made the world, and who made me?* The stoutest atheistic problem that Hume or Holyoake were ever able to forge is embraced in the youngster's question, *Who made God?* Topsy, in her famous reply, "*Spect I growed*," furnishes the theory of Development. Maillet only extends the time and broadens the maxim of Topsy over the universe, and he has simply *'spected that it growed*. Volney's theory of Natural Law is the expansion of that satisfactory maxim of every foggy solutionist who undertakes to explain any puzzling problem, natural or social, it *has always been so*. The Materialism of Comte and Martineau is simply the

crude notions of every gross mind, that *sensible things are the only things, and all the rest are nothings*, elaborated into a scheme. Every man carries with him all the germinal faiths of Theism and all the doubts that the profoundest Atheism can evolve. And yet every ingenious mind awakened to the subject desires and delights to trace the germ to its furthest ramification, to know into what result the argument, whether of faith or doubt, will wind itself.

The work before us is aggressive and not positive. It disproves all the various Atheisms of the day as they are developed to their most complex perfection by the greatest masters of Doubt, without stating the affirmative argument of Theism. That argument is fully stated in the previous section, unpublished in this country, of the great work of which this is the latter and negative part. Meanwhile, for every young minister we would recommend Paley for the positive and Buchanan for the negative of the argument, as the best short course upon this most interesting branch of Theology. At the same time, this book is a most excellent compendious posting up on the subject to the present date.

(14.) "*The Constitution of the Human Soul*. Six Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, by RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D.D." (8vo., pp. 338. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1856.) This volume would be an ornament to any man's library; and perhaps it would be nothing more. Externally, it is a fine octavo with rich crimson cover; internally, it is superficial thought clothed in a full flowing style, printed in a stately type, spaced with "magnificent distances," and based upon a paper-ground of snowy whiteness. That is all. Not one striking original thought, not one new solution, not one mental addition to the existing treasury of public thought, have we discovered in the whole series of sonorous paragraphs upon beautiful pages. If the author's high reputation has risen by productions like these, it is about right that by productions like these his reputation should fall. Composed, indeed, for oral delivery, we doubt not that the old truths freshly invested with a new and attractive verbiage, and adorned with a graceful elocution, may have produced a salutary impression for the hour upon the listening audience, and have left a happy effect upon the memory, perhaps upon the character. We doubt not, that the noble intention of the late Mr. Graham, in leaving a rich bequest for the purpose of founding a course of Sunday Evening Lectures, on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, for the benefit of the young men of Brooklyn, was truly and abundantly fulfilled in these elegant performances. But it is frequently the case that the most effective oral discourse is ill-fitted to instruct or to edify the larger congregation of the reading public, and the author, in such a case, would act wisely by confining the production to the scene of its proper triumphs.

(15.) "*An Introduction to Theosophy, or the Science of the Mystery of Christ*, that is, of Deity, Nature, and Creature. (Col. i, 15-20.) Embracing the Philosophy of all the Working Powers of Life, Magical and Spiritual. And forming a Practical Guide to the Sublimest Purity, Sanctity, and Evangelical

Perfection. Also, to the Attainment of Divine Vision and all Holy Angelic Arts, Potencies, and other Prerogatives of the Regeneration." (12mo., vol. i, complete in itself, pp. 512. London: John Kendrick, 27 Ludgate-street.) The above is the somewhat enigmatical title of an odd-looking volume, transmitted to our office from London, addressed by name to our predecessor. It affects the sable in its exterior, exhibits a type of intense nigrity, is preceded with a manuscript page of preface, and finished with a penciled epilogue on a final fly-leaf, upon the proper mode of reviewing a book. His mode is decidedly more laborious, though perhaps a trifle more fair, than Sydney Smith's. The book would doubtless be a riddle to most readers of our day, being the product in this nineteenth century, of a genuine and sincere, as well as zealous live mystic.

We cannot give the book the ultimate and exhaustive analysis which the lead-pencil of the author requires, because life is briefer in our day than in Methuselah's, and one is obliged to be selective in the employment of its moments. We must have some anticipative faith in the intrinsic value of the book, or at least must see something promising in its first presentations, to induce us to suppose *that* to be the proper object of selection for the expenditure of our delay. But though the lures are plentifully hung out from this little volume, and the efforts to be unique and taking at first sight are earnest, the experiment upon its pages does not sustain the presumption that it contains any extra truth, originality, or beauty to purchase our time or reward our labor.

III.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(16.) "*The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.*, by WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D., with an Account of the Emperor's Life after the Abdication, by WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT." (In 3 vols. 8vo., pp. 618, 604, 565. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) The Life of Charles the Fifth, by Dr. Robertson, was one of the productions that first raised history, in English literature, to an honorable competition with the great productions, in the same department, of classical antiquity. It is an English classic. Since that period, England has repeatedly maintained the same high competition, and in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Gibbon—with all its faults, by far the greatest of histories—she has distanced all past competition. Within the present generation, America has placed histories in the library, quite worthy to stand on the same honorable shelf. The name of Prescott has been naturally associated with that of Robertson, by his later researches in the same field, upon the Southern part of our own continent. The same circumstance of later research unites their names more indissolubly in the present valuable work.

The reader of Robertson is left to suppose, by the then existing state of the narrative, that Charles, upon retiring from the throne, withdrew his mind from all affairs of state, and that the once proud emperor subsided into a saint. Quite contrary was the fact. He remained very much a monarch, even in his monastery; somewhat as one of our American Presidents remained very much a dictator, even in the shades of the Hermitage. Charles retained not

only his old wisdom by which he dictated the policy of his successor, as well as the anxiety for the progress of the momentous events then transpiring, but he retained the scathing bigotry by which he repented of not having perjured his soul, by murdering Luther at the Diet of Worms, and he manifested the unsubdued despotism of his spirit, by interspersing his devotions with bursts of imperious passion, at which his brother monks had reason to tremble. Alas! the piety to which Charles was trained was little calculated to soothe the fierce and bigoted spirit, or animate the heart with tranquillity and love. The great rent in the religious world, which divided his empire and distracted his life, haunted his death-bed, and made the very process of repentance a double-minded act.

The scenes of the closing days of the abdicated emperor are narrated by the pen of Prescott, with all the grace and picturesque power for which his pen is justly celebrated. We venture to say, that this supplement will never be separated from the history. The entire work does credit to the enterprising publishers.

(17.) "*Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of various Denominations, with Historical Introductions*, by WILLIAM SPRAGUE, D.D.," (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 723, 778. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is a *monumental work*; *monumental* from its perpetuation of the memory of the virtuous dead; *monumental* from the finality and permanence of form and substance to which it has wrought their memorial. It may be called *monumental*, too, from its very solid and architectural look and its massy weight. In this cubical cemetery of paper and ink, are gathered the worthier memories of the spiritual ancestry of the Puritan ministry of the present day. The book is as compact as any part of the catacombs. Each occupant is economically condensed to his own location, taking little elbow-room, to avoid crowding his parallel-lying brother. We suppose, too, that here

"The living men may view the ground
Where they must shortly lie."

Each reverend successor may, with tolerable accuracy, measure his own space in the enshrinement. And truly what is a human immortality, a place in history, worth? To leave, as the choice few do, a little scrap of memorial paper, is little better than to leave, as all do, a little handful of indestructible dust. Man can afford to his brother but a mock perpetuity. God "alone hath immortality;" and he alone can give both "immortality and eternal life."

But these massy volumes are not the monument; they are mere blocks of the monument under the hand of Dr. Sprague, the large-minded architect. The whole design, as by him contemplated, is commenced with, but not to be limited to, this one denomination. All the Protestant denominations of America are to furnish each a block for the column. The purpose, therefore, is to render it a very complete religious biographical history of our country. The plan of procedure seems to be laid down with much liberality, and great caution to secure denominational and doctrinal fairness.

Much pains have been taken to obtain the most accurate possible testimony.

Special delicacy has been used in regard to personal character. It is right to allow the author to say in his own words, that "the other characteristic feature of the work is, that it at least *claims* an exemption from denominational partiality. Though I have, of course, my own theological views and ecclesiastical relations, which I sacredly and gratefully cherish, I have not attempted, in this work, to defend them, even by implication, my only aim has been to present what I supposed to be a faithful outline of the life and character of each individual, without justifying or condemning the opinions they have respectively held.

"I have assumed, in general, that a man's theological views are sufficiently indicated by the denomination to which he belongs. But in all cases that required a more definite statement, I have avoided making it, even from information which I deemed most authentic, well knowing how easy it is for one person, in describing the opinions of another who differs from him, to give to them, without intending it, some slight hue which the individual himself would not acknowledge. I have preferred, as far as possible, to let my subject represent himself by faithful extracts from his writings; and where he has left no expression of his opinions, I have endeavored to procure a substitute from some one of his intimate friends. In this way, I trust, I have effectually guarded against misrepresentation."

"I have hesitated considerably as to the order in which the different denominations should be arranged; but have concluded, on the whole, that it would be most simple and natural to let them follow each other, according to the number of subjects which they have respectively furnished. This principle of arrangement, therefore, has been adopted."

Dr. Sprague gives with entire faithfulness, the sources of his work, whether they are already existing publications or special contributions to his enterprise. Among his contributors, are a good share of the most eminent living Congregational clergy, and a number of eminent laymen. The names of Rufus Choate, Professor Silliman, Harrison Gray Otis, Mrs. Sigourney, President Nott, and many others of note are found in the list.

Dr. Sprague remarks the uniformity, and we may add, the monotony which arises in a continuous history of men formed by the same process and hemmed by the same surroundings. The formative process, too, was of a rigid and scientific type, entering very deeply into the personal character; jealous of all redundancies and repressive of idiosyncrasies. It reduced everything to abstract principle, and depreciated all mere *feeling*. It profoundly revered deep intellect, but undervalued all emotional talent. Hence, we are at a loss to find in the whole list of New-England orthodox Congregationalists, deceased, one world-renowned pulpit orator. There are plenty of deep thinkers, sharp metaphysicians, homiletic analyzers, and scholastic disquisitionists, but where is one illustrious Golden-mouth? Where is the Massillon or the Saurin; the Chalmers or the Hall; the Whitefield, Thomas Spencer, or Summerfield; the Robert Newton or Richard Watson; the Channing, the John M. Mason, or the Henry B. Bascom? Under the ministration of these men, religion is generally held to have been *low*. Whenever the icy fetters were burst, the process was watched with a very jealous eye as to its *genuineness*. There were true doc-

tors of divinity there, who took a very rigid diagnosis, scanned symptoms with a most scientific scrutiny to pronounce whether all was spurious or pure. And sooth to say, the eruptions were sometimes of a violent form; and then, the repressive powers of the doctors were laid on heavily; and so between doctors and disease, it must be confessed, the poor patient was generally rather low. Perhaps it would be thought sectarian in us to add, that the harsh and alkaline character of Calvinistic doctrines have a natural tendency to give to periods of high religious movement, a fierce and violent form; that the tone of address is hard and fulminating, and that the emotions raised are the fearful and angry; and that, in fact, they are hardly capable of eventuating a general, genial, and fertilizing revival for Church and people. And so the general Church, perhaps, waits the disappearance of that acrid element, before revivals can hope to be safely and refreshingly universal.

And yet, let it be admitted, that the stern, solemn, unsmiling, despotic cast of New-England preaching, did much to stamp the New-England population with its grave, conscientious, industrious character. What else made her the "land of steady habits?" The very imputations flung upon New-England are of the same character that every profligate rake flings out upon every conscientious man. When Randolph pronounced the political association between Messrs. Adams and Clay to be "a coalition between the *Puritan* and the *black-leg*," the antithesis was at once geographical and moral. Its very point consisted in the assumption that a New-Englander was a Puritan, and that the blackleg was of another section on the map, and of an opposite pole of character.

(18.) "*Beaumarchais and his Times*. Sketches of French Society in the Eighteenth Century, from unpublished Documents, by LOUIS DE LOMENIE, translated by HENRY S. EDWARDS." (12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) A charming biography is this, full of entertainment and romantic interest; a record of the eventful and extraordinary career of one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of the remarkable period in which he lived; a period which abounded in wonderful characters and singular vicissitudes. Pierre Augustin Caron, for this was his name until, upon his marriage at the age of twenty-five, he assumed the name of Beaumarchais, was born in January, 1732, and died in May, 1799. He was the son of André Charles Caron, a watchmaker of the St. Denis quarter of Paris, and was brought up with considerable difficulty (for he appears to have been rather a fast youth) to his father's profession. He first comes into notice at the age of twenty-four, as the inventor of a new escapement for watches, which invention having been stolen by another watchmaker, he boldly asserted his claim before the Academy of Sciences, and obtained a decision in his favor. From this point he steps almost directly into the royal palace as Clerk Controller of the pantry of the household, and speedily, as a musical instructor, becomes the constant and indispensable companion of the king's daughters and a privileged member of his majesty's household. Thenceforth his career is still more unique; he climbs high and slides down swiftly, but climbs again as if no bone had been broken or bruise incurred by his fall, and this process is so often repeated, that one stands amazed and almost bewildered by the energy, the sagacity, the ver-

satiltry, the perseverance displayed. He suffers hardships now for the want of a few francs, and is anon one of the leading financiers of Europe, and the owner of millions. He is prostrated by an ignominious decision of Parliament, stripped of houses and home, of social influence, of civil and political rights. But, behold! he speedily rises up to prostrate the Parliament itself. A little while since the mob loaded him with curses and hooted at him as a poisoner and an assassin, and now the king himself, for fear of that very mob, releases him from the prison where he had confined him in a fit of rage a few days ago. Now as a secret agent and a sycophant he does the meanest work of royalty, and now with the wildest enthusiasm, he stands forth the champion of liberty and humanity. He was a watchmaker and an inventor, a merchant, a courtier, a diplomatist, a lawyer, a songster, an admiral, a contractor, a banker, a publisher, (of the first complete edition of the works of Voltaire,) and one of the most successful dramatic writers that France ever produced; the author of the *Marriage of Figaro*, and several other celebrated plays. Nor was he a "smatterer at all trades and a proficient in none." His wonderful energy and talent were apparent in every undertaking, and almost invariably won him success. But his life was a continued contest with fortune, and what he won she would not permit him to keep. He seemed to fight against fate, and he *almost* conquered.

His connection with this country in its early struggle for independence will increase the interest of American readers in his biography. In that early struggle, he did more for the infant cause of freedom than any other man on his side of the ocean, and he was probably the first man in all the world who saw and predicted the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain, and their erection into an independent nation. We imagine many an American will be surprised to learn the influence that Beaumarchais exerted on our country's destiny, and blush to know how tardily and meanly she repaid her obligations.

This biography throws but little new light upon the times in which Beaumarchais lived, or upon French society in the eighteenth century. His times were, as we have all learned from history long before this book was written, times of intrigue and corruption, when many a sharp and polished intellect did the work of a corrupt heart and an unscrupulous conscience; when a cool brain, and a quick perception, and a dauntless courage, and a regard for uprightness not too high, were needful to force one up from the lower ranks of society to place and power, and Beaumarchais was "a man for the times."

The translation is faithful and somewhat spirited, and the book is very well written; but were the style clumsy and awkward, instead of being, as it is, quite agreeable, the subject and the matter could not fail to make a readable book.

H.

(19.) "*Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent Regions. A Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. ROBINSON and E. SMITH. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations by EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., L.L.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New-York. With new Maps and Plans.*" (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 614, 600. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1856.)

"*Later Biblical Researches*, in the year 1852, by the same." (1 vol. 8vo., pp. 664. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1856.) Professor Robinson left New-York the middle of the year 1837, on the Palestine tour, which had formed the guide of his studies and ambition for some years. He passed through Germany, and received the suggestions of the ablest scholars of the age, with whom former associations had made him familiar. He had prepared himself with all the extant scholarship on the subject. He took as his traveling associate, Rev. Eli Smith, whose familiarity with Arabic, both philologically and colloquially, furnished an important aid, amply acknowledged. With the exception of an unexpected deficiency of apparatus, arising from their not having fully anticipated the unfiled geographical spoils of the field, their preparation for thorough investigation was hopeful.

Passing through Athens, Professor R. ascended the Nile, visited Thebes, the Pyramids, and the other celebrated localities of the Nile valley. He next bent his course from Suez to Sinai, making the most fundamental inquiries, and illustrating his route with the amplest dissertation. Thence he proceeded to the Holy Land, of course making Jerusalem his central object, and thence sallying out to the various points of highest interest, Bethel, Jordan, the Dead Sea, etc.

In the summer of 1851, Professor Robinson undertook his second tour, for the purpose of settling various still existing doubts by a re-examination, and extending his researches, especially in Northern Palestine. The records of this investigation constitute the third volume, whose title stands at the head of this notice. The three volumes are supplied with copious miscellaneous appendices. Among these is an article on the Philology of Arabic names, on the Literature of Palestine Travels, and on the Sinaitic Inscriptions. There is also a note on the discussion which occurred between the lamented Olin and Dr. Robinson, upon which we at present make no remark, other than to place it on record, that the friends of Dr. Olin have an issue with Dr. R. in the matter. A separate Atlas of Maps by Heinrich Kiepert, of Berlin, accompanies the volumes.

It is a point of settled agreement with the various periodicals of Europe, that deal with the subject, that Dr. Robinson's investigations stand at the head of modern research within their field. His examinations were keen and accurate. His comparison of authorities exhaustive and judicially just. His opinions independent without eccentricity, and generally unswayed by any wayward pride of originality. No one has during his generation so advanced this most interesting department; yet no one opens so fully and freely to view, the immense amount of territory yet to be conquered.

Dr. Robinson, it is gratifying to learn, is engaged in the preparation of a Geography of the Holy Land. We look forward to its appearance with interest, as to an era in sacred geographical science.

(20.) "*Sinai and Palestine*, in Connection with their History, by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY. With Maps and Plans." (12mo., pp. 535. New-York: Redfield, 1857.) A splendid work—both as written by the author and as published by Redfield—on the subject of Biblical topography.

Stanley is celebrated among English theologians, as an eminent scholar, eloquent writer, and deep thinking divine, slightly tending to Latitudinarianism. His work is marked by a healthful skepticism, duly limited by a rich enthusiasm for genuine Biblical history. It is written in a rich, eloquent, scholarly style, and is unsurpassed in the fullness of its geographical contributions, by any publication since the issue of Robinson's great work.

The work is a skillful blending of the observations of a genuine traveler over the grounds, with the freedom of an essayist upon its striking aspects. It is more purely dissertational than Robinson's; flinging out his incidental traveling details, yet preserving the lifelike spirit of a real spectator, and discoursing very much like an eloquent lecturer, from a bird's-eye view over the actual scene.

The illustrations are plentiful. The maps possess the unique advantage of being colored, to correspond to the aspects of the surface of the country. The object sought, and very successfully attained, is to produce to the reader's mind a vivid conception of the visible reality.

(21.) "*Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana, with an Account of Excavations at Warka, the Erech of Nimrod, and Shush Shushan, the Palace of Esther, by WILLIAM KENNET LOFTUS, F. G. S.*" (8vo., pp. 433. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1856.) With Mr. Loftus we travel into a deeper Orientalism than Robinson or Stanley furnish; and mount up even to an earlier antiquity, although with a far less affluent archæological spoil than Rawlinson or Layard. Mr. Loftus, after having cast a passing glance at Babylon and Nineveh, which had been scientifically sifted by the last of the above-named savans, boldly struck a route hitherto untrodden by European travel, against the earnest remonstrance of the native authorities, through the wild hordes of the Mesopotamia, over the vast marshes which, from the skirts of the Euphrates, broaden their phylacteries until they sometimes touch the hem of a brother quagmire from the Tigris, until he arrived at the profound desolation of the ruins of Warka.

The unchanged radical consonants of the name of these ruins, identify it with the Greek Orchœ, and the Hebrew Erech. It is thus ascertained to be one of the hamlets of the hunting ground of Nimrod, (as enumerated in that wonderful scrap of primeval topography, Genesis x, 10-12,) which formed the germ of the stupendous monarchies of Assyria and Chaldea. Mr. Loftus describes the solitude of the lonely Warka as most intense; unbroken by the wing of bird or foot of beast, forsaken by the very hyena. It was a necropolis, a burial city, and the stratum of human bones, the remains of corpses borne down the Euphrates from Assyria, for more than two thousand five hundred years, is more than sixty feet deep. In this and neighboring spots, Mr. Loftus continued his excavations, until a rise in the great rivers filling marshes and channels with a rising freshet, compelled him somewhat suddenly to desist. He loaded a couple of ships with the results of his excavations, and descended with them to Bussorah, whence they departed for the British Museum, while he started on a new pilgrimage of research.

He bent his course northward toward that belt of Asiatic mountains that divides that vast continent in two, and which from their misty tops send down the Euphrates, Tigris, and their kindred streams, through the southern plain with a rapid commission to the Persian Sea. The object of his present errand was the ancient capital of Persia, where by tradition Daniel had his tomb, and where Esther attained a crown. He first visited Shuster, and decided against its claims to that high honor. He next visited Shush, a little to the westward, commenced his excavations, and soon disclosed an inscription which identified this locality as the veritable "Shushan the Palace;" nay, he soon arrived in his perforations at what he reasonably identified as the very palace which furnishes this title; the very palace, probably, where the feast was held, in which, according to old Westminster,

Vashti for pride
Was set aside;

though some writers aver that it was a firm womanly *modesty* rather than *pride* which thus vacated the throne for Esther's occupancy.

The whole of Mr. Loftus's discoveries are soon detailed, and are essentially mentioned in his title-page; but the value is not to be estimated by the length of the catalogue. His itinerary narrative, his descriptions of varied adventures, unique characters, and strange agglomerations of humanity, are told in a style which might have excused his modest apologies, and possess a vivid interest for the reader.

The work is finely executed by the Carters, is furnished with numerous engravings, and is a valuable addition to the honorable list of their publications.

(22.) "*Scampavias from Gibel Tarek to Stamboul*, by HARRY GRINGO," (Lieut. Wise, United States Navy.) (12mo., pp. 362. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) Rather a lively book, though not quite so wicked as the first syllable of its title threatens. The word *Scampavias* designates the ancient clipper ships of the Knights of Malta; as *Gibel Tarek* is the Arabic name of Gibraltar and *Stamboul*, the corrupted Greek designation of Constantinople. His own fictitious name the author translates; so that he has the pleasure of writing *incog.* and *excog.* at the same time. The whole nomenclature, therefore, when Anglicised, as the reader will gather, indicates a trip, rather more *fast* than rapid, from Gibraltar to Constantinople.

(23.) "*El Gringo; or, New-Mexico and her People*, by W. H. H. DAVIS." (12mo., pp. 432. New-York: Harper & Brothers.) Although we have many books of wild Western adventure, there are but few specially devoted to New-Mexico. In the days of Texan warfare, Kendall wrote his graphic description of the Santa Fé expedition, in which he bore a part. And, later, Josiah Gregg published his "Commerce of the Prairies," now issued under the title of "Scenes and Incidents in the Western Prairies and New-Mexico," which is still the best work on the subject. To these have been added several books by United States officers. Major Emory and Lieutenant Simpson, each, published an account of his explorations.

Mr. Davis, the author of *El Gringo*, has had a better opportunity than any of his predecessors to write historically of New-Mexico. Being secretary of the territory, all the public records are in his keeping; and there are cart-loads of them in the palace in Santa Fé. The transactions of Spanish governments, more than any others, perhaps, abound in written details. The Spaniards certainly excel every other nation in adulatory verbiage, burying unimportant facts under heaps of wordy chaff. The labor of sifting such accumulation is great, and requires indomitable perseverance. But, making all due allowance for the difficulty of the labor, we expected more from Mr. Davis, in consideration of his advantages, than we find in this volume. Very little is added to our knowledge of the early history of New-Mexico.

The chapters on the Pueblo Indians are the most interesting in the book. We have not so full an account of this class of "red brethren" anywhere else. The Pueblos are an interesting people. They have a history extending far up the stream of time—a history written in their rude style of civilization, but which, we fear, will never be put upon paper. If we could get the history of the Pueblo Indians, we should have the history of the New World; at least, of its center and Western coast. The Pueblos have occupied it, semi-civilized, from time immemorial. The error should be corrected that the civilization of these Indians is due to the Romish priests and Spanish government. It is not so. If any change has taken place under their influence, it has not been an improvement. Their Romanism, forced upon them by the sword, has no more real Christianity in it than their Montezuma dances, which are still held with all their ancient enthusiasm. These Indians present the most inviting field for Christian missionaries of any other aborigines on the continent.

Mr. Davis deals very tenderly with Romanism; entirely too much so, we think, for one who has witnessed its terrible desolations, in morals and manners, as seen in New-Mexico. After describing a state of morals which has grown up under its teachings and influence, which we care not to spread upon our pages, he says: "I have nothing to say about the peculiar tenets of Catholicism; whether the belief of those who profess this religion is right or wrong; the creed true or false; because this is a matter which lies wholly between the professor and his Maker, and with which I have nothing to do." If the writer did but know it, the immoral practices he condemns are the legitimate fruits of the system of faith with which he has nothing to do! Such apologetic distinctions may be very amiable; they certainly are not very acute.

Mr. Davis, in criticising a school-boy's "Farewell Address" to the Bishop of New-Mexico, when he started on his pilgrimage to Rome to kiss the pope's toe, says: "It might have been accused of toadyism." We were reminded, by this severe criticism of the "boy," of the return of this same dignitary from Rome, and of his reception by boys of older growth. We extract from an editorial in the *Santa Fé Gazette*—November 25, 1854—Mr. Davis being the editor: "About eleven o'clock, Saturday morning, Company H, First United States Dragoons, in full uniform, commanded by Lieutenant Sturges, paraded in the plaza, preparatory to marching out to meet the bishop and escort him in. They left town about noon, accompanied by a numerous cavalcade of gentle-

men, composed of officers of the army, and citizens, etc. * * * * At Aroyo Hondo they met the bishop and his party, whom they received *in due form*. * * * * The procession entered the plaza, at the northeast corner, about three o'clock; at which time a *salute of artillery* was fired by the military in the barrack-yard." Query: What number of guns constitutes a Roman bishop's salute in the American military code? "Arrived in front of the church, the dragoons formed in line and saluted the bishop as he passed in; when *Te Deum* was offered up, which occupied half an hour, after which he remounted, and, in the same manner as he entered, was escorted to his place of residence." What "*toadyism*" was this! What a prostitution of the American army!

But the "*toadyism*" was not yet played out. In the evening a supper was given to his eminence. "Judge Houghton proposed the health of the guest, with hearty good-will, from brimming glasses." The bishop, of course, replied. "Among those assembled were the Hon. Chief Justice Davenport, Hon. Secretary of the Territory, *Mr. Davis*! Major Nichols, etc., all of the United States army, and our leading merchants and citizens."

This "*toadyism*" of American Protestants, and prostitution of the American government in the persons of its officers, have been carried to an undue length in New-Mexico. It may be worth while to give a few other instances. "To-day we went to church in great state. The governor's seat—a large, well-stuffed chair, covered with crimson—was occupied by the commanding officer. The church was crowded with an attentive audience of men and women; but not a word was uttered from the pulpit by the priest, who kept his back to the congregation the whole time, repeating prayers and incantations. The band—the identical one used at the fandango, and strumming the same tunes—played without intermission."—Emory's Reconnoissance, p. 34. Wonder if the commanding officers would have gone to such a dumb show in a Protestant church! Would they have gone to church at all? Again, in Doniphan's Expedition, p. 17, we read: "The church was crowded to overflowing, though ample enough to contain two thousand persons. The altar was lighted up with twenty-four candles. Six priests officiated. General Kearney and staff officers, and some of the officers of the volunteer companies, were present, and looked, and, no doubt, felt, supremely ridiculous, each one holding a long greasy tallow candle in his hand, which was to be blown out and relighted at certain intervals during the ceremony." A pretty exhibition of an American general and his staff!

But Major Emory tells us, p. 42: "It was thought proper that the officers should show every respect to the religious observances of this country; consequently they did not decline participating in these ceremonies." But, in illustrating the "*toadyism*," we have been led quite away from "*El Gringo*."

The Indian policy recommended in this book merits severe censure. After detailing several instances of cruelty, the author says: "Yet, with such abundant evidence before our eyes of the savage cruelty of these Western Indians, there is a class of people in the United States whose hearts are constantly overflowing with sympathy for these inhuman fiends. This mawkish feeling of pity for the 'poor Indian' has existed long enough, and it is quite time the

people should come to view them in their proper light. * * * The only mode of governing these savages is by fear of punishment—the 'moral suasion' of powder and lead—as their flinty hearts are not capable of appreciating kinder treatment." Such sentiments are expected from borderers, who have passed a lifetime in personal conflicts with savage foes; but for an educated and professional man, a literary gentleman, who writes books, to indulge in such savage recommendations, is almost as uncivilized as it is unchristian. The Indians are savages; and Mr. Davis recommends that the United States government become equally savage in its treatment of them.

The depredations of the Indians are constantly complained of; but, in the vast majority of cases, they are retaliatory, or acts forced upon them by starving necessity. The Indians have long been at the point of starvation, and the increasing encroachments of the whites are constantly reducing their supplies. Some of the tribes of New-Mexico, within the last few years, have been reduced to the necessity of living upon the bark of the pine-tree. In such necessity, unpitied by the white man, they are compelled, in self-preservation, to steal. This tribe, so reduced, did steal three horned cattle, after asking the owner to give them, stating their necessity; for which a war was commenced upon them, lasting some two years, costing the United States near a half million of money, the lives of about one hundred citizens and soldiers, and almost the extinction of the tribe. And this is the policy that Secretary Davis recommends; and, alas! this is the policy which our government has too long pursued.

The military establishment in the department, including New-Mexico, costs the United States government about one and a half millions annually; and almost the only use of the military is to keep the Indians in subjection. Half a million appropriated to feed, and clothe, and shelter the red man, whom we have robbed, would protect more property and preserve more life than all the sabers in the territory. The best Indian agent in that country, and one who has charge of about ten thousand Indians, says he will obligate himself to be responsible for all the depredations committed by them if the government will furnish him \$20,000 per annum with which to take care of them. The regular appropriation for the Indian department in that territory is, we believe, only some \$30,000; and there are not less than thirty thousand Indians within its limits.

But we must lay aside Mr. Davis's book on New-Mexico. Those who have read nothing on the subject will find it interesting and instructive, though somewhat tame in description and confused in arrangement. L.

(24.) "*New-Granada; Twenty Months in the Andes*, by ISAAC F. HOLTON, M. A., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Middlebury College. With Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 605. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Professor Holton was induced to pay a visit to New-Granada from motives of scientific interest. The fact that New-Granada was literally a "*flowery land*," and yet that its botany had been little investigated, prompted him to go very much upon a botanical pilgrimage. His attention was, however, awake to every

variety of topic, and his observations are a vast miscellany, without much formal plan, embracing traveling incidents, geographical delineations, characteristic pictures, and a slight amount of history and politics. The whole is conveyed in a lively style, bordering on colloquy with his reader. The information it conveys, though unsystematic, is multifarious and entertaining, forming a very readable and rewarding book.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(25.) "*Westward Empire*; or, the Great Drama of Human Progress, by E. L. MAGOON." (12mo, pp. 425. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This work is an attempt to trace the history of civilization, or to unfold the sources and indicate the results of human progress. The author thus defines his purpose: "Civilization is earth's central stream, and all literatures, arts, sciences, philosophies, and religions, are tributaries to swell its tide and increase its current. To indicate the successive sources, describe the multiform elements, and demonstrate the progressive aggregation and enrichment of this unity in diversity, is the object of the present work."

The ages of Pericles, Augustus, Leo X., and Washington, are considered epochs; and under each, literature, art, science, philosophy, and religion, are made the subjects of treatment. In this, certainly, there is nothing original, unless it should be the dignifying of the last age, as that of Washington, to which, of course, as Americans, we cannot patriotically object.

The book possesses some excellences, and abounds with surprising blemishes. It is neither history nor philosophy, nor yet a mixture of the two. It was not intended for poetry, and it is certainly not good prose. There are in it unmistakable proofs of genius; but of genius hampered—struggling in a mist. An everlasting word-lunacy marks every page. Despite of richness of material and thought, the reader sinks down, suffocated and fainting, under the torrent of stilted terms, or reels away blinded with the glare of meretricious sentences. All antiquity is ransacked, but without bringing back any idea, except that it had some brilliant names in poetry, oratory, sculpture, and other departments of mental power. The stream is traced down through the ages; but in the author's hand it becomes a roaring, tumbling, foaming cataract, wreathed in vapor, which one in vain seeks to follow. Where we ought to expect calm and lucid statement, and philosophic generalization, we encounter but the most bombastic declamation. This is all the more to be lamented, because there are abundant proofs of industry, research, and information, which, but for the passion for picture drawing and extravagant garnishing, might have been productive of both an entertaining and useful book.

But with all this that is exceptionable in the work which we have felt it our duty thus to notice, we are not sorry it has been written and published. Some, doubtless, will read it, and derive profit from it; and it will add something of value to the general stock of knowledge. And it is but just to say, that, unlike many, on the whole better works, this book, besides scattering many good things by the wayside, grows better as the reader advances, to very near the close.

V. *Belles Lettres.*

(26.) "*The Tragedies of Euripides.* Literally Translated or Revised, with Critical and Explanatory Notes, by THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, of Christ Church." (2 vols., 16mo., pp. 402, 334. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) The Harpers have here given us a Bohn as like as Bohn is to himself. Those to whom the original Euripides is a sealed book, including, doubtless, the Democracy in general, will doubtless think the great dramatist of the Athenian Democracy "done into English," the next best substitute. We have laid out no pains to ascertain how *literally* he is "done." But our eye has fallen upon a chance specimen, which is perhaps translated so *literally* as hardly to be translated at all; it stays Greek. Thus in the Cyclops, the wretched Cyclops exclaims, "Alas! I am burned to ashes *as to my bright eye.*" It needs a second translation of this transferred Grecism, to enable a plain Anglic to understand that Cyclops means, Alas! my bright eye is burned to ashes. The universal combustion of the Cyclops thus suddenly limited to the *eye* is very good Greek; but in English it is about as ludicrous as if a poor pauper should exclaim, "O! I am dying of a consumption—*as to my pockets.*" Only in the Cyclops' speech the anti-climax is decidedly more tapering.

In the selection of this accidental passage for criticism, we intend no display either of erudition or captiousness. We doubt not, from the scholarly position of the translator and the judicious selections made for the Harper Classical Library, that our readers will find this not only the cheapest, but the best translation of this dramatist in reach. We confess the "masterly inactivity" of omitting a perusal of the whole.

(27.) "*Autumnal Leaves: Tales and Sketches in Prose and Rhyme,* by L. MARIA CHILD." (12mo., pp. 363. New-York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1857.) In matters of religion, Mrs. Child is the child of bewildering doubt; but in the field of pure literature few possess more power of attraction. She expresses the conceptions of a refined and lively fancy in language of great music, grace, and beauty. A humane and tender vein runs through her productions; and were she a safe, she would be a pleasant guide, in matters of serious moment.

(28.) "*Essays, Biographical and Critical; or, Studies of Character,* by HENRY T. TUCKERMAN." (8vo., pp. 475. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Tuckerman has here presented us a critical portraiture of some thirty different personages, characterized each by some leading trait, and furnishing together a group worthy of attentive study. The subjects are selected from various countries, but none beyond the limits of Europe and America; and from various periods, but all from the range of modern history. The various professions and callings of life furnish a representative; though we may, perhaps, except the sacred profession, since its only specimen selected—Roger Williams—is contemplated simply as a founder of toleration.

Mr. Tuckerman has attained a high reputation in American literature as a refined and clear thinker, and a subtle and attractive writer. He dares to use a pure, perspicuous English style, venturing, that in the breadth of the reading world he will find correct taste, and good sense enough to furnish him ample audience and remunerative market. He has the courage to think and speak with calm and reflective repose, at the risk, may be, of being hurried off the stage by the impatient, or drowned by the clamor of the mob; yet reliant that his calm and unwavering voice will reach its correlative lot of listening ears and sympathizing minds. We pay our age the compliment to believe that he will not be disappointed.

Which is the best of his portraits? The answer will depend quite as much upon the taste of the respondent as the character of the piece; for so equal are the efforts of Mr. Tuckerman's mind, and so uniform the flow of his style, that it is doubtful whether there is much difference in the execution. But we should prefer to hang the portrait of Berkeley in our study.

(29.) "*André; a Tragedy in Five Acts*, by W. W. LORD." (8vo., pp. 138. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1856.) Our young patriot poet was not unconscious of the arduousness of his self-imposed task. To impart poetic zest to transactions which distance of time or space has invested with no enchantment, is about an impossibility even for genuine genius. History is a jealous goddess, who by the broad glare she flings around the event, frightens her more timid sister muse from the ground. On opening this poem we are at first rather repelled at the idea of Washington and Arnold, etc., talking blank verse. Yet the author has managed his difficulties with skill. He puts not into the mouth of his characters any of the subtle etherealism or the intense subjectivism which impregnate much of the poetry of our later day. His easy measure rises but slightly above prose; and the general tone preserves but that gentle elevation that even historical dialogue demands. We soon find that he has endeavored to translate into rhythm the natural feelings which may properly be supposed to have passed through the minds of the persons engaged in the transactions. In this respect the effort is not a failure. Yet it scarce rises above a middle flight, quite short of immortality.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

(30.) "*Tales and Takings, Sketches and Incidents, from the Itinerant and Editorial Budget of Rev. J. V. WATSON, D.D., Editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate.*" (12mo., pp. 466. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) This entertaining work of Dr. Watson's contains several articles from the pen of paid contributors to the paper which he edited during the last ten years of his life; a smaller number appropriated from the public domain of literature, because of their intrinsic excellence, and by way of reprisal for the straying away beyond his reach of some of his "intellectual children;" and a number of contributions from his own pen. All its contents are rich and valuable;

but, to us, his own articles, which constitute the staple of the volume, are its most attractive portion. Indeed, we have learned to prize the writings of Dr. Watson, in any department of literature, more highly than those of almost any other man of mark in the same department. He seems to us to have had, in a remarkable degree, the power, which is seldom possessed by a single individual, of penning a logical and strong political, moral, or religious article, or a sprightly and attractive moral fiction. It is impossible, we think, to read his "Helps to the Promotion of Revivals," and the volume here noticed, without wondering at the versatility of the talent which he possessed. The former is full of strong thoughts, strongly and impressively presented; the latter of beautiful conceptions, beautifully clothed, and of admirable descriptions of "personal adventures" in the "Western wilds," and of the natural scenery upon which he had gazed. His "Incidents" and "Lights and Shades" in the Itinerancy "have cheered our hearts, and led us to see more of" the "silver lining" of the "cloud" which overshadows the path of the itinerant, while his "General Conference Takings" have made us so familiar with some of our "men of renown," that we seem to have known them all our life, and to be within speaking distance of them, and on speaking terms with them. We sorrow that our gifted brother has left us for his brighter home and nobler and more befitting labors; but rejoice that his "intellectual children" are being placed within reach of the Church of which he was so bright an ornament. With interest and eagerness we look for the forthcoming volume of Lectures, Essays, and Sermons; assured of an intellectual feast when it appears. T.

Of most of the following we give the titles only:

"*Physical Geography*, for Families and Schools, by R. M. ZORNLIN, author of *Recreations in Physical Geography*. Revised, with Additions, by WILLIAM L. GAGE, late Master of the Taunton High School." (18mo., pp. 159. Boston and Cambridge: James Monroe & Co., 1856.) A beautiful little volume, on a delightful and valuable branch of school education.

"*Examples from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, by Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY." The examples which Mrs. Sigourney has here presented, from her popular pen, are Wesley, Roger Sherman, Chief Justice Ellsworth, Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Hemans, and others.

"*Elements of Plane and Solid Geometry*, together with *Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry*, by GERARDUS B. DOCHARTY, LL.D." (12mo., pp. 189. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This forms one of Professor Docharty's series of valuable Mathematical Class Books.

"*Heaven*, by JAMES W. KIMBALL." (12mo., pp. 281. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1857.) A beautiful book, abounding with peculiar, and yet not too daring, speculation.

"*The Doctrine of Baptisms*. Scriptural Examinations of the Questions respecting, 1. The Translation of Baptizo; 2. The Mode of Baptism; 3. The Subjects of Baptism; by GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D." (12mo., pp. 319. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857) An able work, adopting President Beecher's exposition of the word Baptizo, and maintaining infant baptism.

"*Our Friends in Heaven*; or, the Mutual Recognition of the Redeemed in Glory Demonstrated, by J. M. KILLEN, M. A. From the fourth Edinburgh edition; edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D." (18mo., pp. 285. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.) The most thorough work extant upon a subject of deep religious interest.

"*Pastors and Churches at Washington, D. C., together with Five Hundred Topics of Sermons, delivered in 1855 and 1856. To which is added a list of all the Church Edifices and their Localities, by LORENZO D. JOHNSON.*" (18mo., pp. 171. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1857.)

"*Life of Prince Talleyrand, by CHARLES M'HARY.*" (12mo., pp. 382. New-York: C. Scribner.) A most impartial and interesting life of a bad man.

"*The Laws of Health*; or, Sequel to the House I live in, by WILLIAM A. ALCOTT, M.D., Designed for Families and Schools." (12mo., pp. 424. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1857.)

"*Memories of Bethany, by the author of 'Night Watches.'*" (18mo., pp. 270. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

"*Roman Catholicism Scripturally Considered*; or, The Church of Rome the Great Apostasy, by CHARLES P. JONES, of the North Carolina Conference." (12mo., pp. 396. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1856.)

"*History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington, by JOHN S. WILLIAMS.*" (12mo., pp. 371. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.)

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The Established Church.—The Denison case continues to keep both parties of the Church in anxious suspense. The Court of Arches has been compelled, by the Court of Queen's Bench, to entertain the appeal of Mr. Denison. There is no doubt that it will confirm the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the last refuge of the Tractarians in this question—the Privy Council—inspires them with no greater hope of a final victory. The party has, in the meanwhile, time to discuss the question, What to do, when the last appeal will have proved fruitless. The joint declaration of the leading men in the party—Pusey, Keble, Bennett, and many others—that they share the opinion of the impeached archdeacon, will be of no avail to the latter, no more than their appeal to the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, and, eventually,

to a general council of the Episcopal Church. The party itself is aware of this, and is taking a general secession from the State Church, and the establishment of a free Episcopal Church, into more serious consideration. The state of affairs in the Establishment is becoming altogether too bad for them; for another episcopal see, that of Ripon, (the fourth within the last twelve months,) has been filled by an "Evangelical;" and even at Oxford, at the election of a new hebdomadal councilor, the candidate of the Evangelicals was elected, by a majority of eighty-nine to sixty-seven, over his Puseyite antagonist. What consolation can it give to them, in view of such facts, that the Bishop of Exeter upholds the purity of doctrine by suspending an Evangelical clergyman (Rev. Henry Seymour) for doctrines at variance with those of the Church of England; and that the Bishop of Oxford lays aside his timidity to ask, with

his colleague of Exeter, the separation of the "consecrated" burying-ground of "The [Episcopal] Church" from the graves of dissenters by a sufficiently high stone wall?

The Dissenters.—The Wesleyans are making efforts for the missionary cause which may serve as a model for the whole Christian world. They are deliberating upon measures to secure for their missionary society, as a minimum, £150,000 of yearly receipts. The peace of the Congregational Union has been greatly disturbed by the controversy on the negative theology. The autumnal meeting could not be held, the independent Churches of Cheltenham refusing to have it in their town. A special meeting, held in January, did not succeed in settling the question; but the many warm protests entered against the imputation of heterodoxy, and the unanimous, solemn declaration, that the Congregational Union, as a body, "maintain an unabated attachment to those great principles on which they have been incorporated from the time of their formation," has done much to disperse the fear spreading among many members of the Evangelical sister denominations, with regard to the orthodoxy of the Congregationalist ministers.

The Roman Church has received about the usual number of "converts" from Puseyism; but the hope of making some progress in England is greatly outweighed by the fear of losing Ireland, where the national feelings of the people, and a large portion of the lower clergy, are more irritated against Rome than ever. In Rome itself there begins to be disquiet on the state of Ireland; and all the archbishops have been summoned to the tribunal of the pope, in order to have grave consultations with his holiness on the dangers menacing their flocks.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

United Evangelical Church.—The whole Protestant Church of Germany has followed, with an uncommon interest, the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Conference at Berlin, convoked by the King of Prussia, in order to hear, on several vital questions of the Church, the opinion of her most distinguished members. The list of names contains most of the celebrities of the Prussian clergy and laity, as Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Stahl, Gerlach, and many others of world-wide reputation.

Owing to the close connection between Church and State, the governors of all the eight provinces were also present, except the Governor of Westphalia, who is a Catholic. No other fact can show, in a clearer light, the great change of religious opinion in the higher circles of German society, than such a conference. Not one of its members professed the old Rationalism. With a single dissent, it was unanimously declared, that the members of the Prussian Church were bound to acknowledge the validity of the symbolic books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches respectively, or of the common points (the consensus) of both. The Conference claimed, as a right of the Church, to legislate independently, and without regard to civil legislation, on the cases in which divorced persons may be remarried. This will remove one of the most serious grievances of the Church, whose ministers were heretofore compelled to remarry all persons divorced in accordance with the civil law, although the reasons of the divorce were contrary to the Bible. No great confidence was expressed in the usefulness of a General Synod. If the king persists in the wish of convoking it, it will consist of chosen representatives of the district or provincial synods, the right being reserved to the king to add to these chosen members as many men in whom he reposes confidence as he pleases.

Lutheran Churches.—Several decrees of the Supreme Consistory of Bavaria, betraying the wish of introducing into the Bavarian Church the reforms resolved upon by the Conference of Dresden, have occasioned a general excitement among the Protestant laity. The consistory desires to make private confession, previous to the reception of the Lord's Supper, the general rule; to place public sinners in reserved seats at public worship; to mention, at the baptism of illegitimate children, the sin of their parents; and to return, in the official catechism and the liturgical books, as much as possible to the language of the sixteenth century. The wide-awake suspicion, that a restoration of the Lutheranism of the sixteenth century may easily become for many a bridge to the Romanism of the fifteenth, has organized a general resistance to the consistorial decrees. A great majority of the church-wardens have petitioned the Catholic king to annul the decrees, as detrimental to the Protestant Church; and, at the new election of church-wardens, the "Evangelical" party has won a signal vic-

tory over the "Lutheran." As a majority of the clergy is as decidedly for the consistory as the laity is against it, very hot debates may be expected on the next General Synod of the Bavarian Church, which is to take place in May, and which consists of two thirds clergymen to one third laymen. In Hanover and Mecklenburg the influence of the new Lutheran tendencies on the government of the State Churches has been increased; but the sympathy of the people with them is not greater than in Bavaria. In Holstein, a new Lutheran liturgy, which resembles, in many points, that of the Roman Church, has been introduced in some places; and, in Hanover, the Lutherans have formed a new "Luther Association," which has the same objects as the Gustavus Adolphus Association, and is intended to withdraw from the latter all the contributions of Lutherans. The Lutheran Associations of Hesse Darmstadt, and of one province of Prussia, have petitioned their governments for having the "Lutheran" name restored to the Evangelical state Churches; but, notwithstanding this zeal in behalf of Lutheranism, the participation of the Lord's Supper has been again denied by the Free Lutheran Church of Prussia to all members of the State Church.

Protestantism in General.—In two countries of Germany, only, the clergy is almost unanimously opposed to the tendencies of the New Lutherans—in Wirtemberg and Austria; in the former country more from evangelical, in the latter more from rationalistic, reasons. In Hungary, all the synods of the two Protestant Churches have reclaimed against several provisions in the draft of a new ecclesiastical constitution, as proposed by the government, and have demanded the convocation of a general synod as the only competent authority to legislate on a new constitution in a Protestant Church. It is, however, generally acknowledged that, besides many obnoxious passages, the ministerial draft gives, in some points, to Austrian Protestantism, a greater independence than any other German Church enjoys. In Berlin, preparations are already made for the general assembly of the Evangelical Alliance. The whole union party will take a lively part in it, and distinguished speakers have already been appointed. The attitude of the Lutheran party has not yet been decided upon. Several of their High-Church organs declare for preferring an alliance with Rome to one with the sects of England and Amer-

ica. Others, however, declare in favor of a participation; which will be, however, on the part of all Lutherans, very lukewarm. The largest attendance may be expected from Wirtemberg, where a synod, under the presidency of the pious prelate, Kapff, has, almost unanimously, declared its deepest sympathy with the cause of the alliance.

Church and State.—The great number of religious questions pending in the German Parliaments is justly considered as a sign of the greater interest now shown by the governments and the people in the religious development of the country. In Prussia, the government has brought in a bill repealing a number of the trifling pretexts under which the common Prussian law permits divorces. A majority of the committee charged with the examination of the bill declares in favor of it. The wish to restore to the State a Christian character, leads, however, to continual acts of injustice toward the dissidents. The Prussian courts claim the children of all persons seceding from the State Church as members of the State Church until their fourteenth year; and parents, who have joined the Baptists, have again been fined for refusing to have their children baptized. Another one of the smaller states has, also, reinforced an old decree, according to which all members of the Church must have their children baptized within fourteen days, and are fined for every subsequent day in case of omitting it. The Jews are, in almost every state, threatened with the loss of their political rights. In Hanover, they can no longer be elected as members of the Parliament; and in Saxe Steiningen, the communities are authorized to prevent any further settlement among them of a Jew; but, in Hesse Cassel, the Parliament has, by a great majority, advocated the political rights of the Jews.

The Roman Church in Austria.—The long-expected marriage law was published in October. Few events in the history of the Roman Church, in the nineteenth century, equal it in importance. All matrimonial causes will, henceforth, belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts; and the civil authorities will have no other function but, most officiously, to execute the decrees of the Church. In most of the Austrian dioceses the ecclesiastical courts went into operation on the second of January. The project now mostly oc-

cupping the episcopate is the erection of the Free Catholic University, which has been promised to the Church. A memorial concerning it has been drawn up by the Archbishop of Vienna, and is now circulating among the bishops, each of whom will add such remarks as will seem proper to him. After the opinions of all the bishops have been thus ascertained, a deputation of bishops will present the memorial to the minister of public instruction. The clergy, in the meanwhile, have become aware that, whatever facilities the government may offer, there is a great difficulty in the scarcity of Catholic scholars in Austria; in the department of theology not less than in all the others. A clerical professor of Austria has, recently, published a special work on the question, why Austria has no theological scholars, and on the means to produce a better state of things for the future. Among these means, we believe, will not belong the recent condemnation, by Rome, of the first philosopher of Catholic Germany, Dr. Anton Günther. While all literary life in Austria was in stagnation, Günther alone succeeded in establishing his reputation as one of the first philosophers of Germany. Most of the Catholic professorships of philosophy are, at present, occupied by his pupils; the majority of the Austrian clergy, archbishops and bishops not excepted, have been reared in his views; even the whole Protestant literature has not withheld its admiration of the depth of his science. The latter circumstance has, probably, worked in Rome against him. His party will, undoubtedly, submit to the authority of the holy see; but, according to all reports, the discouragement produced by this latest measure of Rome among the Catholic scholars of Germany will prove one of the heaviest blows which the literature of the Roman Church has suffered for a long time.

The Roman Church in the rest of Germany.—Encouraged by the success of their Church in Austria, the Prussian Catholics demand that also the Protestant government of Prussia re-establish the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts over all marriage affairs, and execute, by the secular arm, their decisions. The Catholic party in the Prussian Chamber of Representatives, counting about forty members, is bargaining with the government to get its support. The government, however, found this wish a little too much for its Protestant feelings; and it is expected that the Protestant members, of all par-

ties, will vote as unanimously against it as was the case in the committee. Wirttemberg and Hanover have concluded new agreements with Rome, which, it is believed, will be satisfactory to the Catholic party; but they have not yet been published. There is, at present, scarcely a single Protestant state in Germany in which the bishops are not quarreling with the government. Every government, pushed by the Austrian diplomatists, is ready to make some concessions, although they still hesitate to go the full length of the Roman claims.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

The Roman Church in Belgium.

—At the opening of the Belgian legislature, the liberal party made fruitless efforts to secure to the professors of the state universities liberty of speech. The Catholic majority in both houses has endorsed the circular of the minister of the interior, who threatened the professors who do not refrain from attacks upon the Catholic Church with deposition. The skillful advocacy of freedom of speech by the liberals has called forth, however, a serious split among the Catholic party, and induced the minister of the interior to make the significant admission that a people, educated according to the principles of the Roman index, would soon become a generation of idiots. The minister, with some of his colleagues, has seen himself, since that declaration, exposed to the most violent attacks of the more Ultramontane fraction of the Catholic party.

The Jansenists.—The bishops of the small Jansenist Church in Holland, which has been, for longer than a century, without connection with Rome, because it rejects the infallibility of the pope and appeals from him to a general council of the Church, have entered a joint protest against the pope's presumption in adding, by the dogmatic definition of the immaculate conception, a new dogma to the belief of the Catholic Church. The pope has answered, as usual, by a new bull of condemnation.

Protestantism.—A great revival has been witnessed by the small Protestant Church of Belgium, and the meetings for reading the Bible have been frequented by thousands of Catholics. The alarm produced in the ruling Church, by the progress of Protestantism, has given rise to disgraceful riots in several places, especially in Antwerp and Ghent, where a

fanatical mob has endeavored to disperse the religious meetings of Protestants. In Ghent, the mayor has been cowardly enough to dissuade further meetings of the Protestants, instead of defending their constitutional rights. In Holland, the alliance of the evangelical party with the political reactionists injures the progress of evangelical principles in a Church and country where German rationalism is still prevailing.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The controversy between the "Univers" and its opponents (see January, 1857, p. 171) took, in the latter months of 1856, a dimension which filled the whole Catholic world with alarm. The Bishop of Chartres intimated, in a public letter, his dissatisfaction with the course of the "Univers;" and it was understood that thirty-one other bishops shared his opinion. Every leading organ of the Catholic world found itself induced to meddle with the contest, and the split extended from France over the whole Church. The "Univers" complained that most of the foreign papers did not understand the exact nature of the contest; but it was a remarkable circumstance, that

nearly all the papers which, in their labors for Rome, rely particularly on the weapons of science, were against, and all those which put a greater trust in fire and sword, were for the "Univers." The lawsuit against the pamphlet—"The 'Univers' Judged by Itself"—had already commenced, when the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris put an unexpected end to it. The administrators of the archdiocese urged the author of the pamphlet to withdraw it from public sale, on which condition the "Univers" was willing to desist from its complaint. The collision of the two parties was thus postponed to a future period. In another controversial question, Ultramontanism has completely overcome the resistance of the bishops. For centuries France has clung to its national or Gallican liturgy as a sacred palladium. The popes wished, in vain, to replace it by the one used in Rome; but, in these last years, the efforts of the Papal party have been so successful that, out of eighty-four dioceses of France, only eight, and, out of fifteen metropolitan sees, only one, (Besançon,) still retain the Gallican liturgy; and even these few are tired of their solitary resistance, and are on the point of submitting.

Literary Items.

THE subject of Scripture inspiration is, at the present time, very much a topic of public thought. Mr. M'Naught has been replied to by Rev. J. B. Lowe, in a work entitled, "*Inspiration a Reality; or, a Vindication of the Plenary Inspiration and Infallible Authority of Holy Scriptures.*" Mr. M'Naught has rejoined in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, entitled, "*Inspiration a Reality and Infallibility a Delusion.*" Mr. Lowe has the last word, in a pamphlet of eighteen pages, entitled, "*Criticism Criticised and Misrepresentations Corrected.*"

There has been commenced, in London, under the editorial care of several clergymen, the Hexaglot Bible, containing, besides the original tongues of both Testaments, the Septuagint, Hebrew New Testament, the Vulgate, and the authorized English, the French, and the German versions. Part I, Genesis i-xxxiii, 4to., pp. 96. Henry Cohn, 111 Strand.

Keil's Commentary on the Book of Joshua, translated for Clarke's Foreign Theological Library, is to be followed by Keil on Kings and Chronicles.

Professor Bopp is engaged in publish-

ing a revised edition of his celebrated Comparative Grammar.

Messrs. Didot, the celebrated French publishers, have been, for several years, engaged in issuing a standard edition of the Greek classics. They have favored scholars who are interested in that department, with what has heretofore been very inaccessible—an edition of the Greek PLOTINUS. The best elucidators of the Neo-Platonic philosophy are French, namely: Jules Simon, Vacherot, and Matter. Didot's edition of Plotinus contains the Latin translation of Marsilius Ficinus, carefully emended by the ablest scholars. Further and important aids are added.

"*Christianity and Hindooism; their Pretensions Compared, and various Questions of Indian Religion and Literature Discussed, in a Dialogue.*" Being an expansion of the Muir Essay, to which a prize was adjudged, in the year 1847, by the University of Cambridge. By ROWLAND WILLIAMS, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge." This work is the result of great research, and is intended as a weapon against the Hindoo religion, in the work of practical conversion.

ART. XII.—PARLEY EDITORIAL.

As we intimated in our last number, the articles of our present issue are mainly upon home topics.

The narrow limits of our little Quarterly have compelled so much, both of compression and abridgment, in the first article, that the author fears that some obscurity will appear in the development of his topic. We hope that an independent publication of this and other essays, from the same hand, will furnish him ample scope for the full unfolding of his analytical acumen and affluent erudition.

The lively sketch of Western Methodism furnishes a picture of intellectual as well as religious successes. The keen touches upon the illiberality of other denominations toward our literary claims in that region, are plentifully sustainable by facts. At the same time, it may be queried whether this illiberality, without being justified, is not in some degree palliated by the apparent contumely with which scholarship and scholarly men have been mentioned by some of our influential men in that section. To have had anything to do with a college has sometimes been made so prominent a merit, apparently, that outsiders have understood scholarship really to be proscribed. And this has transpired not simply in the days of yore, but, if we mistake not, down to the latest General Conference harangue, and in the freshest autobiography. To all these manifestoes of individual peculiarity, most of us have listened with good-humored indulgence; well knowing that our denomination is able to exhibit an honorable literary record, and not doubting that these very men were, in fact, about as ready to make heroic sacrifices for our literary, as for our religious prosperity. But, meantime, the spoken word and the written page take wing and go forth; they drop irrevocably into the public mind. These men are held to be our spokesmen, and we are taken at our own word and appreciated at our own price.

The article on Slavery is from one of the ablest and most conservative pens in our Church. The same pen produced an article not less nobly free, for the Quarterly, years ago. We have arrived at a crisis in which *firm boldness* is the true and only conservatism. Pusillanimity is destructivism. Avoiding any discussion of changes of our own Church organism on this point, the Methodist Quarterly, as the anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church, based upon an anti-slavery Discipline as it is, will be fearless and free.

A memorial to the "Last of the Huguenots" comes appropriately from a writer who is himself one of their descendants, and is therefore a living proof that the last of their *race* has not come and gone. We suppose we betray no literary secret in saying, that the same pen produced the Appendix to Weiss's History of the French Protestant Refugees, in which the Narrative of the American branch of Refugees is supplied.